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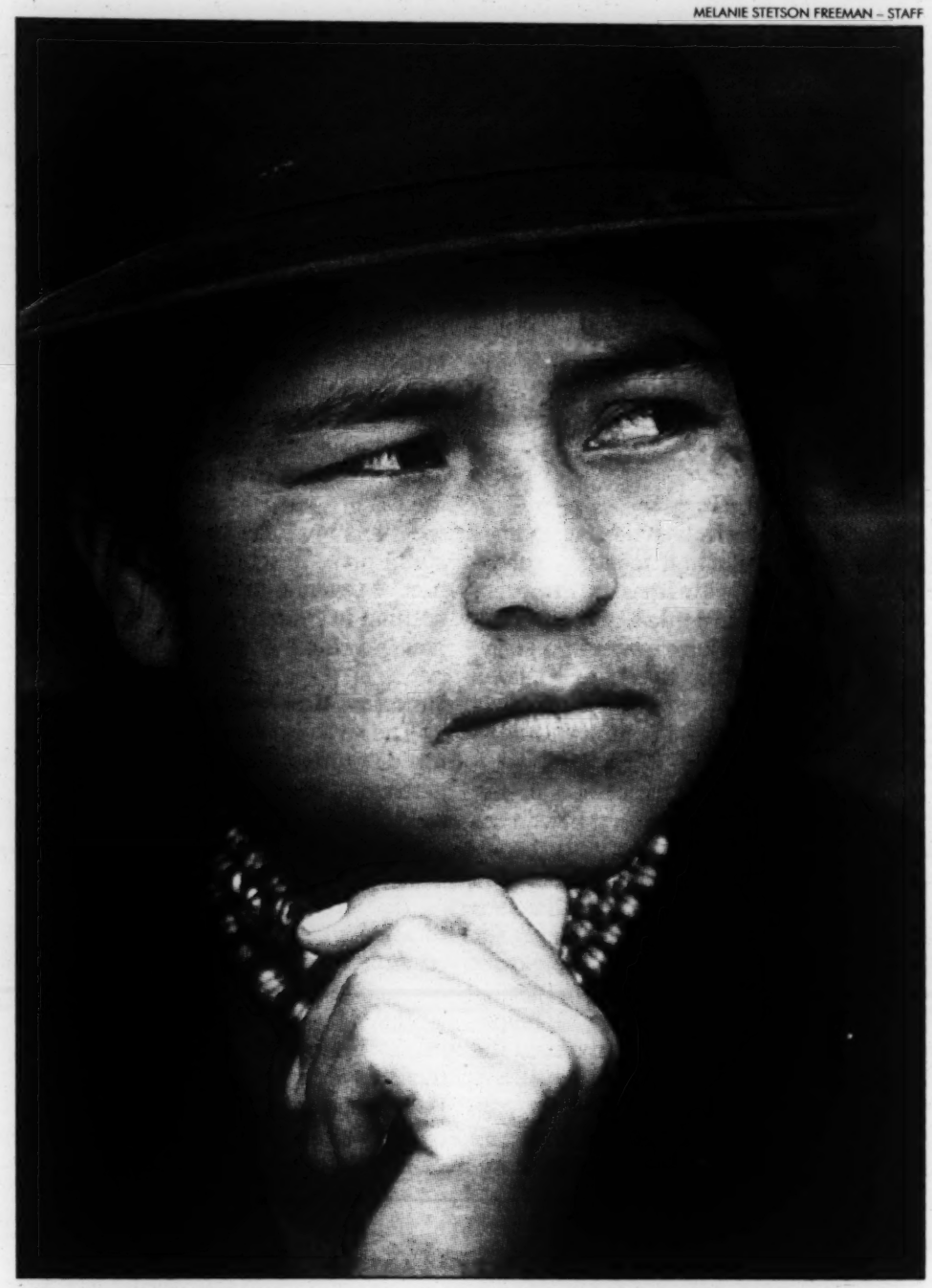
MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF



MARIA LOLA CRIOLLO: *With other women in the community of Punguhuacu, Ecuador, this Otavalan Indian operates a bread cooperative to earn money to buy land.*

THE WORLD'S NATIVE PEOPLES

PART 1, June 9

PART 2, Today, Page 9
Ecuadorean Indians make a stand against oil interests to protect their rights and lands.

PART 3, June 23
A highland Indian in Ecuador fights for land; in the jungle, villagers protect the rain forest.

Indians in Ecuador Act to Save Their Land From Oil Drilling

In Ecuador's rain forest, the flames from surplus oil and gas extraction burn day and night, a fiery emblem for 20 years of oil exploration. But Indians here are acting to save their land and culture from further destruction. "These are the fires which our grandparents warned us would reach our communities," says a young Achuar Indian.

Today the Monitor continues its three-part special report on the issues facing the world's indigenous people by focusing on the Indian tribes of Ecuador who are resisting the state-approved exploration of their land. Among Latin America's indigenous movements, the Ecuadoran Indian groups are perhaps the most visible and successful.

The United Nations has proclaimed 1993 as the International Year for Indigenous People, part of its focus on worldwide human rights. From 300 million to 600 million indigenous people live in 70 countries, mostly as disadvantaged peoples struggling for survival.

HUMANITIES APPOINTMENT

Clinton White House Greases the Skids For Next Nominee

Advisers hope early case for Hackney deflects opponents

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

AS the Clinton administration pushes for as stress-free a Supreme Court confirmation as possible, the White House is working to redeem itself on another appointment: leadership of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

In short, Sheldon Hackney's supporters don't want him "Guiniered." That is, they are trying to make the case for Dr. Hackney before the opposition has irreparably demonized him and forced the president to pull his name before Senate hearings, as happened with Justice Department nominee Lani Guinier.

But the conservatives smelled an opportunity early with Hackney, and the White House faces an uphill battle.

Hackney's opponents raise two key incidents they say place the University of Pennsylvania president "out of the mainstream" and show him to be a maven of "political correctness." One is the university's now-infamous "water buffalo" episode, in which a white student was accused of violating the university's speech code when he shouted the perceived epithet at noisy black women students. He is also accused of reacting weakly when black students confiscated almost all 14,000 copies of a campus newspaper running a column they found offensive.

"There will be opposition" to Hackney's nomination, acknowledges Howard Paster, the White House liaison to Congress. "But struggle is too strong a word."

In the aftermath of the Guinier debacle, Hackney has been speeding up courtesy calls in the Senate; he has already met with one-third of the members. But there is an awkward element for his supporters: His

See **HACKNEY** *page 4*

Public Intolerance for Graft Is Toppling Latin Leaders

By David Clark Scott
Staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor

MEXICO CITY

LATIN America has never been noted for effective anticorruption crusades. But the unprecedented downfall of several leaders in the region is sending a poignant warning: Graft may now be hazardous to one's political health.

"We're witnessing a striking, fast-moving change. It's extraordinarily encouraging," says Paul Boeker, a former United States Ambassador to Bolivia and director of the Institute of the Americas, a La Jolla, California-based think tank. "Accountability," says Mr. Boeker, "is one of the most important elements of a deepening democracy."

In country after country, top government officials are being toppled by corruption charges.

■ In December, Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello became the first president in Latin American history to resign. Impeachment charges had been brought against him by the Senate for extorting $6.5 million from businesses seeking government contracts.

■ In May, Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez and two former Cabinet members were charged with embezzling and misusing $17.5 million in public funds.

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Behind the Ginsburg Search
It was a tedious, hard process to find a US Supreme Court nominee.
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France's Leading Young Actress
In an interview, Emmanuelle Béart talks about her latest role in 'Un Coeur en Hiver.'
15

Middle East Talks Resume, With a Nudge

THE tenth round of Middle East peace talks began in Washington June 15 with a gentle nudge from the United States for "real engagement" on tough land and peace issues.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, speaking with Israel Television on June 14, said progress would depend on the Arab side. But negotiators from Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians have repeatedly urged Washington to take a larger role in the talks and put pressure on Israel to make further concessions.

Analysts in Washington say US will probably have to lean on both Arabs and Israelis to elicit concessions that would ensure progress.

Talks between Israel and the Palestinians aim to achieve interim self-rule for the 1.75 million residents of the Israeli-occupied territories. A final settlement would follow five years later.

Israel has offered to allow the Palestinians to administer civil services in the territories and is talking to the delegation about elections for a self-governing authority in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

But the Palestinians refused this offer in the last round because Israel would not discuss issues such as security and the future of Jewish settlements in the territories.

In the talks between Israel and Syria, the central issue is how much of the strategic Golan Heights Israel would have to surrender to get a peace accord.

Itamar Rabinovich, Israel's chief negotiator with Syria, told Israel Radio from Washington June 15 the Jewish state was prepared for detailed discussions of security arrangements. Israeli media reported that Washington had proposed Israel's talks with Syria, deadlocked over terms of a land-for-peace agreement, focus instead on security arrangements.

Syria wants back all the Golan Heights captured by Israel in the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel would return part but won't specify the extent of withdrawal until Syria accepts "full peace" including open borders, embassies, and trade.

– Compiled by Kurt Shillinger

INTERNATIONAL

Strikes Hit Ukraine's Leaders

Coal miners cite economic decline, demand new parliament elections and referendum

By Chrystyna Lapychak
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

KIEV, UKRAINE

A WAVE of strikes in the important Donbas coal-mining region in the southeastern part of this former Soviet republic has brought a long-simmering political crisis to a boil and threatens to put Ukraine on the brink of economic collapse.

Under pressure from the week-long strike, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk on June 15 asked the parliament to support the miners' demands for new parliamentary elections and a referendum on his rule. But the communist-dominated parliament, which has resisted economic reform as well, rejected this proposal. It did, however, leave the door open to reconsider the proposal soon.

Tens of thousands of miners at more than 200 of the country's 240 coal mines have been on strike since June 7. Workers at large factories in the major industrial centers of eastern Ukraine, Kharkiv, and Donetsk, have declared solidarity strikes.

The powerful miners' strike committees, which played a key role in resisting Communist rule during the last days of the Soviet Union, are demanding not only economic concessions but major political change and greater economic autonomy for the Donbas region.

"We just don't see a future with any of the present government organs. They all must go," Vyacheslav Kuzmin, a leader of the Donetsk Strike Committee said in a telephone interview.

The miners share a widespread disappointment with the shrinking leadership of President Kravchuk, who ceded most day-to-day management of the economy to his Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma.

"Kravchuk has been so busy traveling abroad, arguing with Russia about dividing the Black Sea Fleet, and building an unnecessarily large army – while watching the parliament make decisions about so-called reforms at the expense of the people," Mr. Kuzmin said.

"We regard the president as politically impotent," he said.

Black Sea fleet dispute

The challenge to Kravchuk's rule comes just before a key summit meeting, scheduled for June 17, with Russian President Boris Yeltsin to try to settle a new outbreak of tensions over the joint ownership of the Black Sea fleet. In the Russian-populated Crimean peninsula, where the fleet is based, demands for reunification with Russia are growing.

Such views are not expressed in the Donbas or elsewhere in eastern Ukraine, a heavily industrialized area mostly populated by Russian-speaking people. But the strike wave is evidence that less than two years after they voted overwhelmingly for Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union, people in this region are disillusioned with what they now view as empty promises of economic prosperity from the Ukrainian leadership.

The political stalemate between the parliament and the government has hindered even moderate attempts at economic reform. Instead of riches, independence has brought a rapid decline in living standards, leaving most Ukrainians far worse off than people in neighboring Russia and other ex-Soviet republics.

In addition to new parliamentary and local elections, and a confidence vote on Kravchuk, the miners are demanding greater economic autonomy for the vital Donbas region. Their demands fall short of a call for separatism, a move that could prompt the Russians to back their brethren in eastern Ukraine.

"We're interested in greater regional self-administration for the Donbas, not separatism nor even the type of autonomy the Crimea has," Kuzmin said, referring to the mostly Russian-populated Crimean peninsula. "We contribute a large proportion of revenue to Ukraine and get almost nothing in return. Now we want to decide how much to give Kiev, not vice versa."

Russian ties broken

The strikers blame Ukraine's leadership for disrupting the traditional trade links between Ukrainian and Russian industries by setting up difficult customs requirements for trade between the two former Soviet republics.

The strikes began after the latest wave of price hikes declared by the government on June 5 on a wide range of basic goods and services.

But Mr. Kuchma dismissed the economic issues, telling parliament June 15 that this is "a 100 percent political strike." He warned, however, that in two days the country's crucial heavy industry sector will come to a halt.

Aussies Press Britain For Nuclear Cleanup

By Catherine Foster
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SYDNEY

THE political geiger counters are crackling once again as senior Australian officials make another demand that Britain clean up the radioactive mess it left behind in the 1950s.

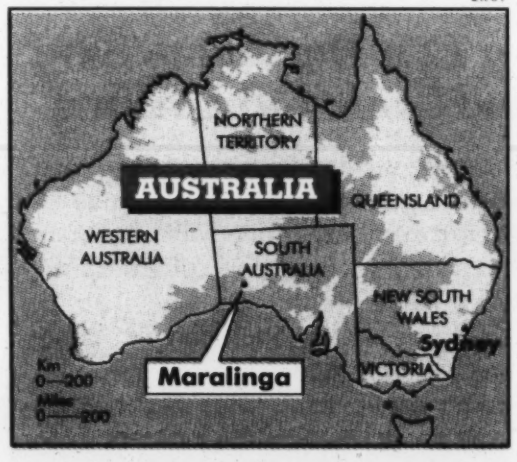
The British conducted seven atomic explosions between 1952-1963 at Maralinga in the South Australia desert and several others in Australia. Britain claims it did clean up the sites satisfactorily and that in a 1968 agreement Australia signed away its right to make further claims.

But Australia says that information has come out since then that indicates the contamination is much worse that Britain has admitted. And, they claim, Britain knew it as early as 1963, yet said nothing.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Gareth Evans and Minister of Primary Industries and Energy Simon Crean will be meeting with senior officials in London on June 17.

They want Britain to pay a "substantial contribution" to the estimated $100 million (Australian; $68 million US) to clean up the land, plus another $45 million Australian to compensate the Maralinga Tjarutja, the Aboriginal clan that has been deprived of access to 1,200 square miles of land because of the tests.

STAFF



The British had several cleanup projects in the 1960s. During the cleanup, 21 pits were filled with contaminated equipment and topped with 650 tons of concrete. In 1968, a report by Britain's Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, which mounted the cleanup, declared the operation had been effective.

In 1984, when 3,000 kilometers of land were due to be returned to the Aborigines, a team of scientists from the Australian Radiation Laboratory (ARL) in Melbourne found the contamination extended further from the firing site and was more highly concentrated on the ground than was previously thought.

Support for the findings has come from US documents, released over the last three years, about US and British tests in Nevada similar to those at Maralinga.

From these tests, ARL scientists conclude that most of the 22 kilograms of plutonium at Maralinga was dispersed as an aerosol in plumes that reached out 150 kilometers (95 miles) or more from the site. What Australians find even more disturbing is a 1961 British report that suggests the same thing; that report was not revealed here until 1985.

While the British are expected to again deny Australia's claim, Australians are heartened that this time they are being received by senior ministers: Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Defense Secretary Malcolm Rifkind will meet with the Australian ministers this time.

JEFF CRISTENSEN/REUTERS/FILE

GOLDEN VENTURE: *About 250 Chinese emigrants bound for the US were stymied when their ship ran aground off a New York City beach. Some 100,000 Chinese a year head for the US in the hopes of sending dollars home.*

China Blames Asylum Law For Wave of Emigration

Smuggling syndicates said to need multinational enforcement effort

By Matt Forney
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BEIJING

IT is not the modern American Dream: four months at sea, ankle deep in sewage, rioting for food – all for the right to owe smuggling rackets years of indentured servitude in sweatshops and restaurants.

Yet rural Chinese immigrants are putting up several generations of earnings in pursuit of that dream, and crowding onto boats bound for the United States.

China blames Western asylum laws for luring its people overseas, and says it is powerless to stop the trade without international cooperation.

"Some of those people who have illegally entered other countries' territory have asked for so-called political asylum, and countries have even granted it," says Foreign Ministry spokesman Wu Jianmin. "This truly hampers our efforts to combat the smuggling."

The world might be blind to the traffic if ships had not begun dumping their human cargo just off popular New York City beaches, as the Golden Venture did June 6, or under the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco, as the Pai Sheng did last month.

The 100,000 illegal Chinese arriving in the US every year vanish into Chinatowns throughout the country. There they take menial jobs until they can return the $30,000 in travel costs to "snake heads," leaders of the syndicates that smuggled them out.

The average Chinese peasant makes around $150 a year; most find only squalor in the US, but still make the journey, with dreams of sending dollars to family back home.

"A few years ago people sneaked into the US and the Immigration and Naturalization Service didn't send them back ..." says a professor at Beijing's People's University, who has conducted research in the coastal area where most trips begin. "Everybody knows those stories. People believe US immigration policy is more lenient."

With reason. In 1989, the Bush administration offered asylum to Chinese who claimed to have been persecuted for breaching China's strict population control policy that allows couples only one child. Most of the Chinese apprehended have requested asylum under the guidelines, and 80 percent have reportedly been allowed to stay.

CHINA says US policy enacted under President Bush acts as a lure. The Hong Kong-based Ta Kung Pao, a pro-Beijing daily, said in a stinging editorial: "The United States has asked China to cooperate against alien smuggling, but conversely the US must first improve its immigration laws and should quickly and strictly repatriate illegal aliens."

China cannot solve the problem itself, officials say.

"It's pretty clear that to load 500 people into a ship and cross the ocean isn't just one guy putting on a show," says a Western diplomat in Beijing. "It's a large criminal organization, so it must be treated like a large crime activity, involving Interpol and conversations between different police organizations in the world."

He did not add what joint steps might be taken, saying only that talks are under way. But he was pessimistic about China's prospects of busting smuggling syndicates within its borders. China's economic reforms have produced an increasingly mobile population, and people can slip onto trawlers virtually unnoticed.

"They can't control the movement of people anywhere near the extent they could at one time," the diplomat says. "That leads to the increase in illegal immigration."

While the efficacy of China's public security is in doubt, its propaganda machine is starting to churn. Official news media reported June 11 that 26 people involved in smuggling had been sentenced in Fujian Province. Twelve smugglers received prison terms of up to five years, and 12 would-be emigrants face up to three years, according to the China News Service.

China insists it has stepped up coastal patrols and increased a document check at border points, as well as "educating local residents on the law."

But the Ministry of Public Security will not elaborate on steps being taken.

As long as the hope of successful passage exists, Chinese will continue packing onto boats. Entire villages often pool resources to send a son or daughter overseas in hopes that precious repatriated dollars will make the investment worthwhile.

Nigerians Choose Civilian President, Amid Apprehensions

By Paul Adams
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LAGOS, NIGERIA

NIGERIA'S elections mark the country's greatest progress toward a transition to democracy in a decade of military rule. But relief over the smooth running of the polls is mixed with apprehension about the months ahead.

Moshood Abiola, the candidate of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), appeared to have won on June 15, although the results have not been announced officially. With polling results known in 14 of Nigeria's 30 states, Mr. Abiola had won 11 and had received 4.4 million votes to 2.3 million secured by his opponent, Bashir Tofa of the National Republican Convention (NRC).

The next president must win a simple majority of votes cast and at least one-third of the votes in 20 states.

In the past three years, President Ibrahim Babangida's military regime has delayed the transition three times. If General Babangida hands over power as scheduled on Aug. 27, it will be the start of an uphill struggle for an inexperienced civilian government. The country's economy has been in a steep decline in recent years.

Abiola has solid support among Nigeria's Yoruba people, who predominate in five southwestern states, but he has also won Mr. Tofa's home state of Kano and taken a southeastern state the NRC was expected to win.

The National Electoral Commission (NEC) has not said when it will announce the final results after collating all the state returns in the federal capital Abuja, but a result was expected by the evening of June 15.

Both political parties are the creation of Babangida's military regime and are part of his guided, if halting, transition to democracy. The parties' manifestoes, written by the NEC, identify the SDP with welfare policies and the NRC with more right-wing policies, but there is little ideology or tradition to separate the parties. Both Abiola and Tofa are very wealthy businessmen with no direct government experience.

Patronage rather than policy is the means of persuasion in Nigerian politics, and tribal and religious loyalties are important influences. Partly because of their choice of candidates, the SDP is seen as the party of the mainly Christian south and the NRC as representing the mainly Muslim north, although both Abiola and Tofa are Muslims. The north has dominated Nigeria's government and armed forces for most of the country's 33 years since independence.

There have been only two brief periods when the executive head of state was a southerner, and in neither case was the leader elected to office. The last southerner in power was retired Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, who is also the only president so far to have handed over power freely, in 1979.

The brief presidential campaign was notable mainly for election jingles and a televised debate between the candidates rather than for original policy statements.

Of the two candidates, only Abiola is a national figure. Until this April, Tofa was virtually unknown to most Nigerians. Abiola rose to prominence in the 1970s as vice-president for the United States multinational IT&T in Africa and the Middle East. He has since devoted some of his fortune made in that period to building up a news publishing business, promoting pan-African causes, and being a benefactor throughout Nigeria. He has acquired more than 250 chieftaincy titles in the process.

His success is partly due to the SDP's image as the party of the poor in a country where poverty is spreading. Economic recession and sharp currency devaluation in the past 18 months are beginning to hit hard. And the NRC bears many similarities to the last civilian party to hold power, the National Party of Nigeria, which was ousted in a military coup in 1983.

But Abiola is also seen as the more independent of the two candidates, a self-made man who has his own agenda. Although both candidates are close to Babangida and others in the military hierarchy, Abiola's southern heritage distances him from the northern military clique.

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nomination has not yet been formally sent to the Senate committee that will hold hearings, Labor and Human Resources. The White House says it will come this week.

Until the nomination is formal, some supporters are reluctant to push seriously. And he is not speaking to the press – customary for high-level nominees. So, as with Ms. Guinier, the opposition has had free rein to define him, and the Wall Street Journal's editorial page is leading the charge, calling him "one of the academic elites who have made 'political correctness' the dominant ethic on American campuses."

Conservative activists are also deep into "opposition research," scrutinizing his record and writings.

'I AM concerned about his lack of enthusiasm for protecting freedom of speech at Penn," says Bob Knight of the Family Research Council. "He protects speech if it is from the extreme radical left, but not if it is from conservatives.... To be appointed the nation's leading scholar is a frightening prospect."

The council plans to use "alternative" media – such as radio host Rush Limbaugh and Christian radio and TV – to spread its views on Hackney. The politically potent Christian Coalition is also speaking out against him. The NEH dispenses grant money to academia, and Hackney's foes worry that he will impose a "politically correct" (read: liberal) litmus test on grantees.

Conservatives have catalogued other Hackney "offenses": He supported controversial photographer Robert Mapplethorpe; defended a visit to Penn by black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan; and disciplined a popular professor for referring to blacks and Jews as "ex-slaves."

A Penn spokeswoman says the Journal's June 9 editorial contains 11 errors. For example, in the case of the disciplined professor, she says, it was his faculty peers who decided the professor needed "sensitivity training."

The spokeswoman also says Hackney statements on the water buffalo incident have not been accurately quoted. "He said: 'Diversity and open expression seem to be in conflict,' " says Barbara Beck, emphasizing "seem to be." And, she adds, Hackney's opponents have conveniently ignored the next part of his statement: "There can be no compromise regarding the First Amendment right of an independent publication to express whatever it chooses."

Hackney's academic supporters, many not used to the fray of Washington politics, have begun writing letters to senators in support of his nomination. Larry Silver, president of the College Art Association, cites in a letter Hackney's "distinguished career" as a scholar in the humanities, particularly in American history, and as a university administrator.

John Hammer, director of the National Humanities Alliance, cites an "outpouring of support" from the academic community. In an unusual move, the board of the NHA's 76 member organizations has formally supported Hackney's nomination. Mr. Hammer, who has followed the nomination carefully, says the White House is being attentive to the Hackney controversy.

Hackney supporters also point to a recent New York Times editorial favoring his nomination – important, in contrast to the paper's opposition to Guinier. On Capitol Hill, one Senate Democratic aide argues that "Hackney is his own best defense," thus, the recent flurry of meetings with senators.

"Getting him confirmed will take some work," the aide says. "But once he gets to his hearings, this nice, smart, decent man will win this battle in the culture wars."

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CORRUPTION from page 1

Mr. Pérez is the first president in Venezuela's history to be forced from office under a cloud of corruption.

■ In May, Guatemalan President Jorge Serrano Elías preempted a congressional investigation into the misuse of public funds by staging his own coup d'état. He disbanded the congress and judiciary and assumed dictatorial control. On June 1, Mr. Serrano was ousted as his military benefactors bowed to international and local outrage over his actions.

The anticorruption wave is also enveloping former top government officials. In Bolivia, Panama, Costa Rica, Peru, and the Dominican Republic there are trials under way or just finished involving criminal charges against former presidents.

The old response

Traditionally, Latin America's military-backed rulers responded to charges of graft by ignoring them or sending their accusers funeral bouquets. But under the emerging democracies in the region, political leaders are finding they are being held to higher standards than in the past.

Political scientists offer several explanations for the emergence of this trend. In each country there are different elements at work. But essentially, "it's an inevitable part of the democratic process," says William LeoGrande, director of government studies at American University in Washington.

The acceptance of a democratic system means that the relatively small circle of power, traditionally occupied by wealthy families and the military, is now widening, analysts say. Human rights activists and other civic groups are more expressive and aggressive in exercising their rights under a democratic constitution.

The judicial and legislative institutions do remain weak in comparison to powerful executive branches. But the acceptance of a democratic blueprint is forcing presidents to be more responsive, at least in image if not in substance, to the other arms of government. Opposition parties find themselves with a real role to play, and the media are increasingly independent, amplifying and investigating charges made by civic and opposition groups.

"In the past we've seen anticorruption campaigns initiated by governments – for example, by [former Mexican President] Miguel de la Madrid," says Lucrecia Lozano, director of the Center for International Relations at the Monterrey Technological University in Mexico. "But this time it is coming from civil society, which is organized and politically active in the democratic process."

Mr. LeoGrande posits that the campaign against corruption may also be a response to an actual rise in illegal enrichment by civilians. The privatization programs, whereby state-owned industries are sold for millions of dollars, present fresh opportunities for kickbacks. "When military regimes governed, there was corruption, but it was quieter, involving fewer people. Now we have lots of civilians in power who, for the first time, have the opportunity to feed at the public trough," LeoGrande says.

Boeker argues the anticorruption efforts are spurred by declining public tolerance for government abuses in Latin America. "People see there are institutions of redress available to them now. They no longer have to put up with corruption," he says.

Popularity plays role

But Peter Hakim of the Washington-based Inter-American Dialogue argues the executive branch only becomes vulnerable to corruption charges when it has lost popularity for other reasons.

Venezuela's Pérez had instituted tough austerity measures. He barely survived two coup attempts. His popularity was at a low point. Mr. Hakim argues the corruption charges – albeit on relatively weak legal grounds – were the last straw seized upon by the opposition. "Pérez was so weak it was easy for the the legislature and judiciary to go after him," Hakim says.

JULIO PEREIRA/AFP

AN EARLY FAREWELL: *President Fernando Collor de Mello resigned in December 1992 following impeachment charges. Increasingly, Latin American leaders are being held accountable as democracy deepens.*

By comparison, Hakim notes Argentina's President Carlos Saúl Menem also enacted harsh economic reforms. But he has overcome corruption scandals – including a red Ferrari given by an Italian businessman seeking favors – because he is popular. "Corruption is rife in Argentina, but people are happy with their government," Hakim says.

Nonetheless, Hakim sees vague corruption charges emerging as a major tool of opposition parties. "The way they used to call people communists. Or it might be said someone is soft on drugs. Now you'll also hear, he's soft on corruption."

But some analysts warn the anticorruption weapon may also endanger nascent democracies if it is wielded too bluntly against the military.

"It's a delicate area," Boeker says. "As the drive to increase public-sector accountability gets around to the military, some presidents will be unprepared for the challenge. In many countries, the military has not yet reconciled itself to its new, lesser status [in the democratic system]. Frying generals will generate resentment," he predicts.

Politicians in the region have been slow to recognize the change in public attitude, adds Boeker. "Some political leaders are acting as if the old rules still applied and they're getting burned. [Brazilian President] Collor is a prime example of the arrogance of ignoring rules of ethics. He imagined that if he got away with it at state level he could at the presidential level as well."

Under the emerging democracies in the region, political leaders are finding they are being held to higher standards than in the past.

Some analysts see the anticorruption revolt as a reaction to the neoliberal, market-oriented economic policies. The austerity measures adopted by regional governments tend to pinch most the pockets of the lower and middle classes. These citizens (or the opposition parties) clamor for justice when they have to swallow a 50-percent electricity hike while, in the case of Guatemala, the media reports Serrano is buying thoroughbred horses, ranches, a jet, and a new Mercedes-Benz with public funds.

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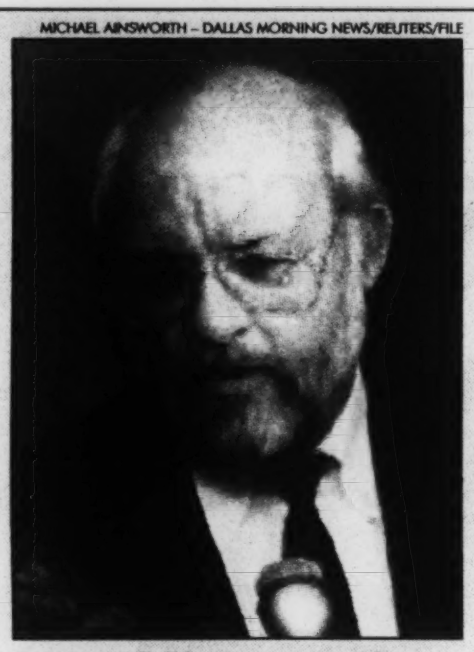
MICHAEL AINSWORTH – DALLAS MORNING NEWS/REUTERS/FILE



ED ROLLINS: *Talking to reporters after resigning as co-manager of Ross Perot's 1992 campaign. Mr. Rollins says Perot should remain an independent.*

Former Aide Says Ross Perot Will Run Again

ED ROLLINS, the former Reagan aide who was Ross Perot's top campaign strategist a year ago, foresees Mr. Perot running for president again in 1996.

"I think he'll get sucked into it," said Mr. Rollins at a Monitor breakfast June 15. Rollins does not believe that Mr. Perot is planning that far ahead, but the Texas billionaire is out campaigning hard. By 1996 he will be unable to back out of a race again, says Rollins.

WASHINGTON WATCH

"I don't think he's a strategic man," he says. But "I think he's having the time of his life."

After winning 19 percent of the vote in 1992, Perot is also getting kid-glove treatment from both Republicans and Democrats as well as the press. Once he became a candidate, he would receive much tougher scrutiny from all corners, as he did last summer.

Perot would fare better if he ran outside the GOP, rather than pursuing its nomination, says Rollins. "If he runs in a two-way race, he'll never be elected president. If he's in a three-way race, anything can happen."

The Republican field in 1996 is teeming with ambitious hopefuls. As recently as January the hottest prospect was Jack Kemp, says Rollins. By now Kemp has dropped well back, his message gone stale and his strategy of waiting until after 1994 turned obsolete, he adds.

Senate minority leader Bob Dole is now at the top of Rollins's list.

Some other candidates aiming for the GOP ticket in 1996 are Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, former defense secretary Dick Cheney, and former education secretary Lamar Alexander.

Former Vice President Dan Quayle, Rollins says, needs to strengthen his image before running.

– Marshall Ingwerson

NATIONAL

A look at the process of picking a Supreme Court nominee shows a highly public job open to criticism. The president took a personal interest in the search to the final hours.

Clinton's Search for Ginsburg: Deliberate, Difficult, but Fruitful

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton decided Sunday afternoon, June 13, that federal appeals Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg was his choice for the Supreme Court. At about 11:30 p.m., he went to the kitchen of the White House living quarters and tried to telephone the judge with the good news. He got nothing but static on the line. "Hello? Hello?" the perplexed chief executive said. When he got through, he couldn't hear anything. So the president dialed again. This time, he told Judge Ginsburg, "If I'm going to propose, we might as well have a good line."

The president's difficulty establishing a telephone connection – related by senior White House officials on condition of anonymity – was only the last, nagging obstacle he faced in a long, torturous search for a Supreme Court nominee. The 88-day ordeal, which culminated in Ginsburg's formal nomination June 14 at a Rose Garden ceremony, has come under fire even from many Democrats.

The process, critics say, was too drawn out, too disorganized, and too public, with failed nominees subjected to unnecessary ridicule. "The president was cruel to [Interior Secretary Bruce] Babbitt to leave him hanging," says one Democratic lawyer. "Many people think it was done in a way that appeared to be callous to those under consideration."

White House officials say it took as long as it did because the president, who is a former constitutional law professor, took a personal interest in every facet of the process. But, these officials argue, no great harm was done. "We knew that [Justice Byron] White's resignation [on March 18] gave us a lot of time. We knew we had until late May or early June. And we were going to take all that time," says one top White House official.

Preliminary list of 50

The search for a Supreme Court justice began one day after Mr. White announced he would step down at the end of the current term. Administration officials were not expecting a court vacancy so soon, but the White House counsel's office had drawn up a preliminary list of 50 possible appointees. The list, which included Ginsburg's name, was presented to Clinton at an Oval Office meeting on March 19.

Before long, the president's aides cut the list down to about 40 people. For each of the contenders, aides prepared a mini-biography of 8-to-10 single-spaced pages. By the end of April, approximately 25 candidates had been profiled. Each of the mini-bios was passed along to Clinton, who discussed them with aides at numerous and lengthy meetings.

"Initially the president was interested in looking at people who hadn't been judges," says one official. But the two top nonjudicial candidates – Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) of New York and Education Secretary Richard Riley – announced they did not want to be considered. "So we narrowed it down to some political figures and some judges," the White House official says.

As various trial balloons were floated to the press and the Senate, the list shrank to two or three finalists. The president appeared to be leaning toward Secretary Babbitt, since he preferred a nonjudge and a nominee he knew well. On Sunday, June 6, top officials from the White House counsel's office "vetted" the interior secretary – an intensive grilling that is one of the final steps before nomination.

STEVE JAFFEE/REUTERS

'This nominee [has] immense character.... It is important to me that Judge Ginsburg came to her views and attitudes by doing, not merely by reading and studying.'
– President Clinton

But a funny thing happened on Babbitt's road to the court: He discovered he was both too popular and too controversial to be nominated.

Environmentalists sent up a hue and cry about how they could not afford to lose Babbitt at the Interior Department. Congressmen told the president at a picnic last week that he would have a hard time finding an acceptable replacement. And Utah Sen. Orrin Hatch, a top Republican on the Judiciary Committee, says he told Clinton that any politician would be a risky appointment.

All of those factors weighed heavily with the president, officials say. So Babbitt fell back in the court sweepstakes as appeals court judge Stephen Breyer of Boston gained favor. On Wednesday, June 9, top White House officials flew to Boston to vet the judge. They were impressed with the centrist jurist who had the support of Senate Democrats and Republicans.

Two days later, Mr. Breyer traveled with his family to Washington and spent an hour and a half with the president over lunch in the White House. Officials report the conversation went well, but apparently the president was not overly impressed with Breyer. There was another problem with the judge that emerged into public view the next day, but that White House officials and senators had known about for weeks: Breyer had not paid Social Security taxes for a domestic worker.

No capital to spend on Breyer

Although both senators and White House aides stress that the lapse was not "disqualifying," it clearly did not help at a time when the president has little political capital to expend.

"I think Breyer would have been confirmed, but the administration thought, 'Let's not go through this criticism when we have another candidate who's a woman and a Jewish-American,' " says Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D) of Arizona, a member of the Judiciary Committee.

The other candidate was Ruth Bader Ginsburg. The feminist-crusader-turned-centrist-judge emerged as a dark horse contender as Babbitt and Breyer faded. On Tuesday and Wednesday, June 15-16, White House aides scoured all of the judge's writings. On Friday night, Clinton asked for an interview. But Ginsburg was attending a wedding in Vermont, and she couldn't come to the White House until 11:00 a.m. Sunday.

Aides report that this meeting was the "turning point." Clinton was struck by Ginsburg's "self-effacement," "strength of character," and above all, by the story of her struggle as a woman entering a male-dominated legal profession. "The president found the entire meeting quite moving," a senior official says.

Not long afterward, Clinton reached the decision that had Ginsburg making "courtesy calls" June 16 on senators who must approve her confirmation to the nation's highest court.

ALEXANDER JOE/AFP

SIGN OF UNREST: *A Somali man stands in front of bombed-out tanks reportedly fired on by US helicopter gunships in Mogadishu, where UN troops have attacked the forces of warlord Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed.*

Somalia Crisis Spurs Pentagon to Reorient Training of US Troops

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

SUDDENLY the United States is returning to Somalia – sort of.

Despite some criticism that US-led United Nations attacks on a Somali warlord have gone too far, US officials say they intend to pursue retaliation against a man they call a "thug" and blame for a deadly attack on Pakistani peacekeepers earlier this month.

US air power is flowing back to the Somali capital of Mogadishu, with four more AH-1 Cobra attack helicopters arriving this week to supplement the AC-130H gunships which have pummeled forces of Gen. Mohammed Farah Aideed in recent days.

US officials say they regret that civilians have died in the upsurge of Somali violence. But they term it essential that General Aideed be disarmed and UN authority be established.

"It is crucial that the United States support the UN effort," said Secretary of Defense Les Aspin in a speech on June 14.

Restoration of order and the free flow of relief supplies is the goal of the operation, according to the US. But some critics question whether calm will return to Mogadishu anytime soon, considering that a man who controls much of the city has clearly been put on notice that he is to be destroyed – at least politically, and possibly even personally.

"How are they going to pick up the pieces afterward?" asks John Mackinlay, a Brown University senior researcher and co-author of a recent study on UN peacekeeping.

That the US and the UN have at least entered a new phase of their peacekeeping mission is clear. In Somalia UN "blue helmets" are no longer even pretending to be passive policemen. They are actively attempting to pacify a country still full of people with guns.

How do you train and equip troops for that kind of engagement? That's a problem that the Pentagon is facing as it advances into the post-cold-war world. US forces are certainly going to be heavily involved in peacekeeping operations in the future, whether they form the backbone of the effort – as they did early on in Somalia – or not.

The US Army, for one, claims it is already heavily involved in orienting its troops toward peacekeeping as it changes from a largely Europe-based force focused on the Soviet Union to a largely US-based institution with a more global orientation.

At big Army installations such as the National Training Center in the California desert, "you would see us training soldiers in these very complex situations," said Army Chief of Staff Gen. Gordon Sullivan at a meeting with reporters June 14 to discuss the Army's emerging new-world battle doctrine.

Learning to operate in areas where it is difficult to separate friends from foes, such as in urban situations, is among the new training exercises, according to Army officials. Still, switching to peacekeeping duty won't be easy for troops steeped in the US Army fighting tradition of massive firepower against massed foes on lethal battlefields.

The US military has long been oriented toward achieving victory by completely overwhelming its foe. How will it know what sort of victory it is supposed to achieve in the gray world of peacekeeping and peacemaking, such as the UN now faces in Somalia?

"Decisive victory tends to be certainly, in that kind of a situation, situational," said General Sullivan.

Just turning the operation over to largely UN control in May was a US victory, Sullivan added.

The US Army chief skirted the issue of whether only the US has the sort of training and firepower needed to safely operate in dangerous peacekeeping situations. He did note, however, that the 3,000-odd US troops still in Somalia "provide many of the assets that hold the force together" for the UN, such as medical units, water purification, maintenance units, and other logistical tasks.

Recruiting Peacekeepers for High-Stakes Missions

By Lucia Mouat
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

WANTED: world peacekeepers, willing to take risks.

The search is on at the United Nations to find more member nations ready and willing to lend troops. The demand for UN military help is growing at a time when risks are rising. Some posted needs include:

■ Somalia. The UN wants to add another 10,000 troops to bring its strength there to 28,000 by late July.

■ Bosnia-Herzegovina. In a June 14 report, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said at least 7,500 more troops are needed in Bosnia to protect six Muslim "safe havens." He concedes that 34,000 troops could do the job better. The lower figure, combined with the threat of airstrikes provided by NATO, is a "realistic" estimate for a beginning, he says.

■ Cyprus. The UN now operates 13 peacekeeping missions, and needs replacements in some long-standing operations. Canada, involved in the Cyprus effort since the start in 1964, plans soon to withdraw 500 troops.

"We are still trying to find governments to replace them, but we haven't settled on anyone yet," says Kofi Annan, UN undersecretary-general for peacekeeping operations. In an interview with the Monitor and the Los Angeles Times, Mr. Annan, who admits he has spent a number of seven-day weeks in his office recently, says UN officials have been concerned that recent clashes in Somalia might convince some nations that had offered troops to hold back or "drag their feet."

Annan says he thinks the unprovoked murders of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers in Somalia on June 5, the retaliatory United States-led airstrikes on arms depots held by Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed, and the subsequent "tragic" shooting of civilians by UN peacekeepers in what the UN terms self-defense send a mixed message to potential troop contributors.

One message is that the world community "must and will" protect UN troops, he says. But nations might also be getting another message – that peacekeeping is no longer "relatively risk-free."

INTERVIEW

Troops must be well-trained and equipped for what could become a combat situation, he says. Some diplomats say nations such as Germany and Japan, have constitutional limits on their military involvement, and may withhold troops for that reason. In his report on the safe-haven plan for Bosnia, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali specifically urged nations not sending troops to contribute equipment and air-transport services.

Annan says he hopes that people such as General Aideed of Somalia who agree to cease-fires and arms accords and later break them will now realize that the UN is serious about meeting its peacekeeping goals.

US forces in Somalia, Annan says, did not approach that task "as aggressively" as the UN had hoped. But by authorizing the UN to investigate, arrest, try, and punish those responsible for the deaths of the Pakistani peacekeepers, he says, the Security Council has sent the criminals a clear message that "we will come after you wherever you are. You can't hide."

Getting new peacekeeping contributions will take work, Annan admits. "We have to do more recruiting." Several nations have been asked to send troops to protect the six safe havens in Bosnia. In one reponse, Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev said his country would contribute to the safe-havens force, but only if troops were given a "clear framework and mandate."

As the demand for more UN peacekeepers grows, so does pressure on the UN from member states to be more selective. The Cyprus peacekeeping operation is often cited. Though the fighting has stopped, the secretary-general has yet to broker a political settlement.

Member states often are hesitant to provide troops for lengthy operations. The UN faces growing pressure, Annan says, to take on only operations in which the goal is clear. The idea is to "achieve and pull out."

"People say that peacekeeping is a growing business," he says. "We'd like to see it go the other way.... I'll be very happy if we can resolve some of these issues and go home." If the Arab-Israeli peace talks were to succeed, for instance, "we could close several missions in one go," he says.

"I think we as peacekeepers have to be patient and persistent.... It's not always possible to know when you are going to get a break ... when people who have been fighting suddenly decide they have had enough."

ECONOMY

Traffic Declines on St. Lawrence Seaway

Waterway suffers as ships become bigger and cargo moves north-south

By Fred Langan
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TORONTO

THE St. Lawrence Seaway was touted as one of the wonders of the world when it was opened in 1958 by President Eisenhower and Queen Elizabeth II. Strings of superlatives about the longest inland waterway in the world produced predictions that places such as Chicago, Toronto, and Cleveland would become major inland ports.

The reality today is falling traffic brought on by the recession and a change in the nature of world shipping since the Seaway opened 35 years ago.

Toronto's port is so dead that a spit built from landfill to expand it is now a bird sanctuary. Chicago's port is dwarfed in tonnage by such cities as Baie Comeau, Quebec, and Duluth, Ontario.

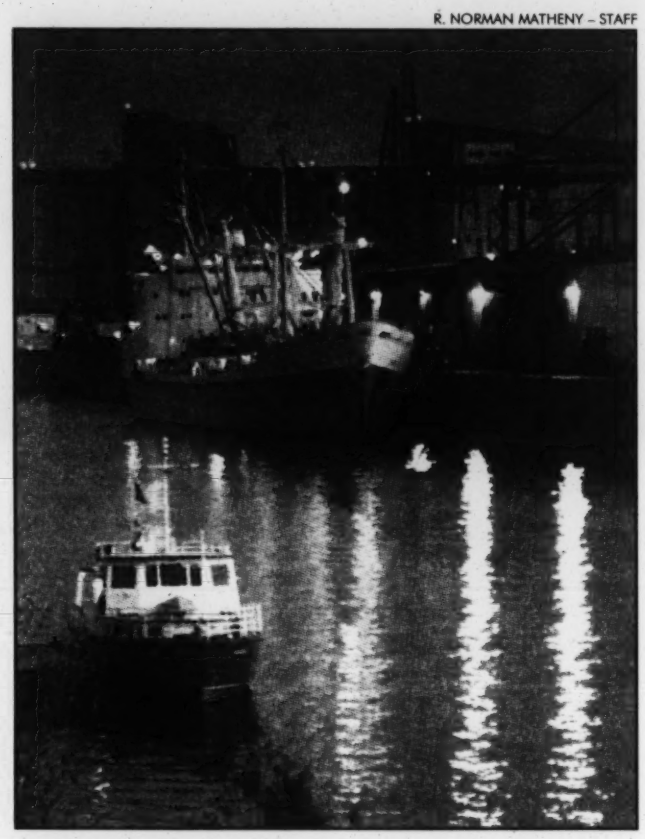
"Our tonnage is declining and has been declining ever since the recession," says Gay Hemsley, spokeswoman for the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority. "Iron ore has been affected by the slump in the steel industry in Canada and the United States. And many grain shipments are now going to the Pacific instead of to Europe, so they bypass the Seaway."

The St. Lawrence Seaway starts at Montreal where a series of locks bypass the shallow rapids in the St. Lawrence River. It is a series of canals, 14 locks, and dredged channels that allow ocean-going ships to visit Great Lakes ports.

But fewer ocean-going ships are using the Seaway. It has become an inland waterway; 91 percent of its cargo is grain, iron ore, and other commodities that can be poured into the holds of the long, thin lakers, custom-built to fit into the locks of the Seaway. The fall in general cargo – anything from shoes to cases of mineral water – is what is changing at the Seaway.

"We've seen cargo decline 9 to 10 percent every year for the past three years," says Norman Hall, president of the Canadian Shipowners Association. The association represents firms which operate 112 ships on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



MONTREAL WATERFRONT: *The St. Lawrence Seaway opened to great fanfare 35 years ago, but today few ships pass through now the nature of world shipping has changed.*

The slow economy has hurt the steel industry, one of the main users of the Seaway system, Mr. Hall says. Also, ocean-going vessels are getting bigger. Many are too large to fit into the locks. "When the Seaway opened, 90 percent of the ships in the world could go through. Now only 10 percent can," Hall says. "Ships are being built of 70,000 tons, large enough to go through the Panama Canal. The St. Lawrence Seaway can handle ships of 25,000 tons and there are fewer and fewer of those."

Another problem the Seaway has is that it moves cargo east-west, while shippers increasingly are moving cargo north-south.

They are taking advantage of free trade between Canada, the US, and soon, possibly, Mexico.

Take the railways in Canada. Canadian National, the government-owned railway, is building a $200-million tunnel from Sarnia, Ontario, to Port Huron, Mich. It is also expanding its reach to New York and New England.

The other major railroad, Canadian Pacific, is buying rights to tracks to get better access to the Great Lake ports of Chicago and Detroit. But those ports are being accessed without using the St. Lawrence Seaway.

"There is no solution for the St. Lawrence Seaway. You could increase the size of the locks, but the cost is prohibitive – billions of dollars," Hall says. "Containerization has been efficient. General cargo that used to go up the Seaway now moves by rail. This is progress."

The owners of the big lakers say that as long as there is grain and iron ore to move up and down the Seaway, it will have its use.

Even Hall has some solutions for the Seaway: Cut pilotage costs, make navigation in winter and bad weather easier, and reduce tolls.

"Lowering tolls would encourage foreign ocean-going ships to use the Seaway," he says.

But those at the Seaway authority do not think so. "Lower tolls aren't the answer," Ms. Hemsley says. She points out that the Seaway has already lowered tolls on some bulk cargo items such as coal, which it says saves a shipowner $13,500 (Canadian; US$10,533) a voyage. The Canadian Seaway Authority has been losing money for years – about $10 million last year.

Hemsley says she does not see lowering tolls for ocean-going ships. "The problem is the number of ocean-going ships that can use the Seaway is dwindling. What is needed is a 'Feeder Fleet' of special ships built for the purpose as the lakers are for bulk cargo," she says.

Bank of England's New Head Joins Bid for Independence

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

THE case for extending women's liberation to the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street – otherwise known as the Bank of England – is strengthening, according to officials close to Eddie George, its incoming governor.

But Prime Minister John Major appears to be set against cutting the bank's links with government, despite arguments advanced by Norman Lamont, his ousted chancellor of the exchequer.

Mr. Lamont's call for an independent Bank of England was a key feature of his bitter resignation speech June 9 in which he accused Mr. Major of manipulating central bank interest rates for political advantage. Lamont told the House of Commons: "Britain is one of the few countries where monetary policy remains firmly in political hands, and the pressure on politicians to take policy decisions for political reasons can be quite irresistible." He added: "With an independent bank, policy would be more credible, and it would give us the necessary discipline for keeping inflation down on a permanent basis."

Mr. George, who takes over as governor from Robin Leigh-Pemberton in July, immediately authorized the issuing of a statement which said that there were "clear advantages" in making the central bank responsible for achieving price stability, "if only because this may enhance the credibility of policy." This brought George into conflict with Major who said that although a case could be made for independence, politicians should still be able to call to account "those who make decisions about monetary policy."

Lamont's charge of interest-rate manipulation apparently refers to last January when, in the midst of depressing economic indicators, Major ordered a rate cut while touring India. Analysts in London's financial district said it was a panic reaction.

The pro-independence lobby won strong support June 14 from the Bank of International Settlements (BIS), the so-called "bankers' bank" in Basle, Switzerland. In its annual report it called for all European central banks to be independent of government. The BIS said that during last year's currency turbulence, which forced Britain to devalue the pound, short-term political interference in setting interest rates had undermined the credibility of many currencies.

Behind the scenes, Treasury officials, whose views about the economy strongly influence Bank of England policies, attacked Lamont for putting independence back on the agenda for debate. They drew support from senior analysts in London's financial district. Neil McKinnon, chief economist at Citibank, said those who advocated independence for the Bank of England were "searching for a holy grail." What mattered, he said, was "whether we have the right economic policies."

GERMANY'S Bundesbank is often cited as a model by those who advocate sturdy independence for central banks. In battling inflation, it has resisted pressure from Bonn to boost a flagging economy by cutting interest rates. The Bundesbank also has been criticized by opposition Social Democrat politicians for allegedly failing to take full account of the pressures on the German economy caused by reunification. Yet its independence from government is rarely questioned by politicians and economists in the federal republic.

A Bank of England official says there is a "clear trend, worldwide" toward central bank independence. Four years ago, the New Zealand Reserve Bank was made independent and assigned the target of getting inflation down to 2 percent by 1993. Its governor was told he would lose his job if the target was not reached. It was, and now Bank of England officials cite the New Zealand experience as a model of what should happen in Britain.

The Bank of France will be the newest recruit to the ranks of independence. Legislation is before the National Assembly. Under the Maastricht Treaty, countries committed to European economic and monetary union are required to have an independent central bank in place before the creation of a European central bank.

British officials concede that Major's reluctance to accept the case advanced by Lamont is in line with Britain's lukewarm attitude toward the treaty. They point out that Britain has negotiated its own opt-out from early acceptance of monetary union. Bank of England sources note that if the government sticks to its view that the Old Lady should never be given its freedom, Britain may never qualify as a member of a fully integrated European Community.

THE WORLD'S NATIVE PEOPLES

Part 2 of a 3-part weekly series.
On Page 10, Indians and oil: a volatile mix.
On Page 12, Indian leaders speak out.

Stories by David Holmstrom
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Photos by Melanie Stetson Freeman
Staff photographer of The Christian Science Monitor

PIPE PATH: *Children going to school use the Trans-Ecuadoriano pipeline outside the oil town of Lago Agrio, Ecuador, deep in the rain forest.*

Ecuador Indians Fight for Forests

Activist groups resist destructive oil exploration and demand rights to ancestral lands

ECUADOR PROFILE

■ Ecuador, about the size of Colorado, is on the Pacific coast of South America. It is blessed with the Andes Mountains, rain forests, a hot coast, and the Galapagos Islands.

Ecuador's population, close to 11 million, is increasing 2.6 percent a year. About 52 percent live in urban areas. Estimates of the percentage of indigenous people range from 15 to 40 percent. Annual per-capita income is $1,110. In 1985, the government estimated a housing shortage of 840,000 homes.

Ecuador has democratic elections but an unruly political system with plenty of corruption. Drug trafficking has not been a major problem.

Under President Sixto Duran-Ballen, inflation is running at 50 percent a year. Foreign debt is close to $12 billion. Mr. Duran-Ballen advocates privatization of national companies and utilities.

Ecuador's Amazon Basin has the greatest number of plant species of any South American country. The Sierra highlands have been almost completely deforested. If destruction of rain forests continues at the current annual rate of around 2.6 percent, the forest cover will be gone in 40 years.

– D. H.

QUITO, ECUADOR

THE announcement came from Hans Collin on a sunny day in March. As president of Ecuador's state-owned oil company known as Petro-Ecuador, Mr. Collin announced from downtown corporate headquarters the discovery of new major oil fields deep in the Oriente, Ecuador's Amazon jungle.

Altogether, the discoveries could yield an estimated 900 million barrels of oil to bolster the country's current production of 330,000 barrels a day. Although one of Latin America's smaller countries, Ecuador is the second-largest oil producer after Venezuela. Half the Ecuadorean gross national product comes from oil revenues.

But hardly a groan of protest went through the modest offices of Indian rights organizations here in Quito and in the Amazon-basin cities of Tena, Puyo, or Lago Agrio.

The discovery of more oil simply heightens indigenous leaders' resolve to continue resisting exploration and pressing to modify destructive oil company practices. Widespread damage and many deaths have occurred because of oil exploration.

Over the past 20 years, the leaders of the Oriente's indigenous tribes – the Quichua, Cofan, Shuar, Siona, Secoya, Achuar, and Huaorani – have emerged in increasing anger from the rain forest. In the Andean highlands, indigenous leaders have battled for years to gain more land.

Together, in resistance to oil exploration, deforestation, and government-approved settlers in the rain forest, Indian efforts here and in other Latin American countries are beginning to alter the historic inequities of class and economic structure.

Today, more than ever, Indians are less likely to be seen as powerless and inferior in Latin America. They are demanding rights and constititutional status, both conditions long denied by the ruling classes. They are marching in protest and fighting for legal recognition of ancestral lands.

"Most Indians are coming out of the Middle Ages," says Ecuadorean sociologist Jorge León Trujillo, "and the question is, can they adapt before they are absorbed or destroyed? What comes next is not at all clear."

Historic racial and ethnic perceptions change slowly. Political power in Ecuador and the rest of Latin America remains chiefly in the hands of the white aristocracy of European stock and the mestizos (people of mixed native and European ancestry).

But two recent events in Ecuador have nudged a complacent power structure to acknowledge a new reality: Indigenous people from the jungle and the highlands are no longer passive.

The question is, can [Indians] adapt before they are absorbed or destroyed?'

– Jorge León Trujillo

For several days in June 1990, CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorean Andes) and CONFENIAE (Confederation of Indian Organizations of the Ecuadorean Amazon) led a nationwide uprising demanding human rights and legal title to lands. Major roadways were blocked with logs. Quito was virtually shut down. Violent clashes erupted in parts of the country. The national news media covered Indian issues extensively.

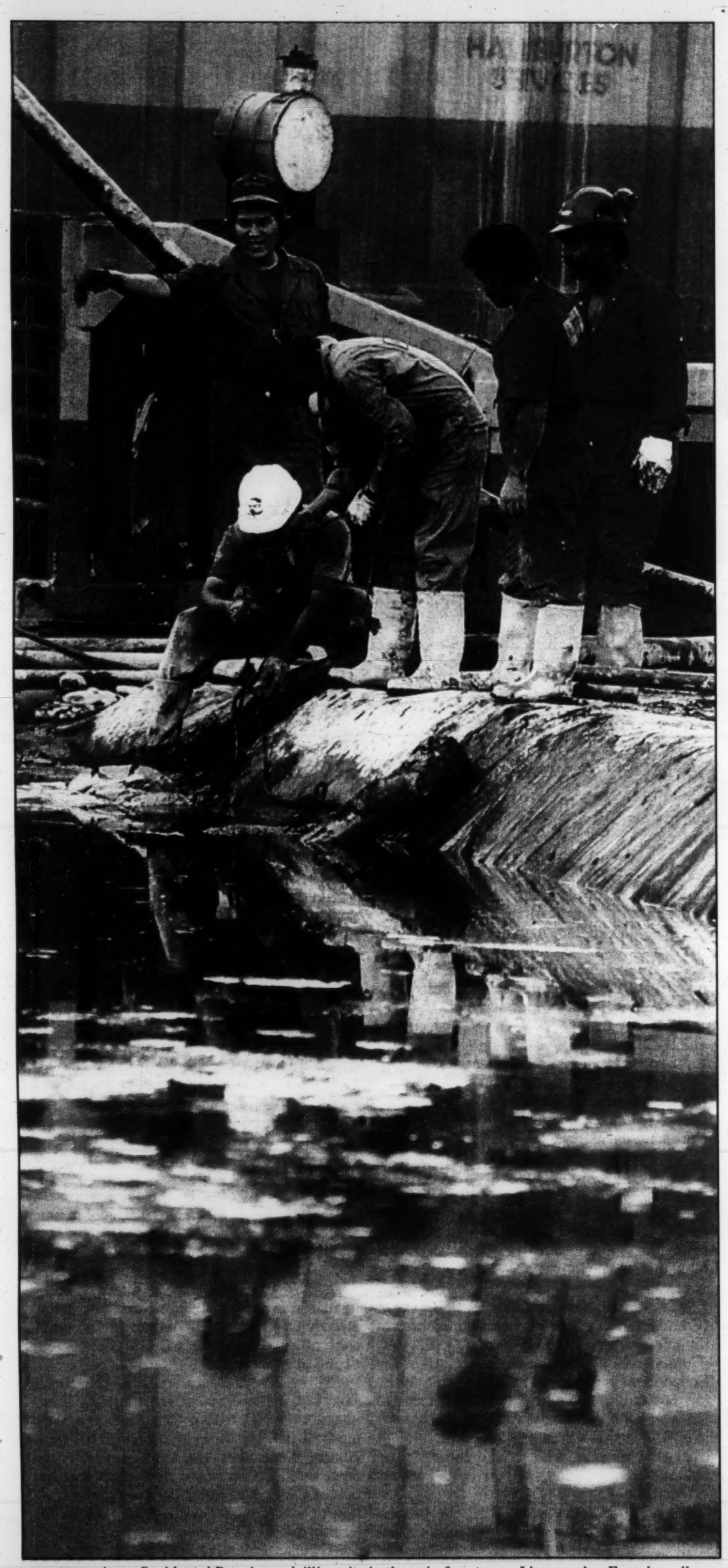
Then in April last year, a 12-day protest march from Pastaza province to Quito organized by OPIP (Organization of Indigenous People of Pastaza) ended with more than 3,000 Indians camped in a downtown park. Leaders pressed the government to approve long-standing land claims and to recognize that Ecuador is a multinational country.

Thousands of people supplied the Indian encampment with food and bedding. In negotiations, the government conceded communal rights to the Indians for 3 million acres, home to 148 communities. Mineral rights were retained by the government, allowing oil exploration to continue in consultation with the Indian communities in order to control environmental damage. The land grant is the largest ever made to Indians anywhere in the Amazon basin.

But do the decisions signal deep change in Ecuadorean culture or merely shifts in the topsoil?

Ecuador is largely a third-world country where public proclamations by officials do not necessarily mean efficient compliance or follow-through. In Ecuadorean cities, phones still go dead in the middle of conversations. Electricity can be erratic. Many areas don't even have electricity. Entrenched bureaucracies ignore each other, or move slowly and inexplicably, or not at all.

"There is a different sense of time here," says Robert Drickey, director of the United States Peace Corps in Ecuador. "It's much more casual, and takes getting used to. To me culture determines reality. Ten years from now, I don't think you'll find much equalization of the classes here. There is a long tradition of aristocrats. They maintain status and wealth, and won't let much happen [to change this]. Indian groups are becoming recognized and more powerful, but I don't think they will ever be owners of much of the country."



WELL OILED: *At an Occidental Petroleum drilling site in the rain forest near Limoncocha, Ecuador, oil-company workers gather at the edge of a sludge pond lined with protective plastic to prevent seepage.*

As petroleum drilling goes deepe
indigenous people in Ecuador pus

Volatile Mix: Oil a

LIMONCOCHA, ECUADOR

STANDING in the heat and humidity of a jungle clearing at a remote drilling site, Andres Ledergerber, an ecologist for Occidental Petroleum, insists that night has turned into day.

"I speak for myself," he says. "Oil companies used to do anything they wanted in Ecuador. Now it's different."

For 20 years, oil companies slammed their way through the Ecuadorean rain forest, felling thousands of acres of trees, dynamiting the earth, spilling vast amounts of oil, destroying habitats, and fouling rivers.

Disregard for the fragile environment brought death to wildlife, impaired the health of Indians, and drove many from their bamboo homes. Hundreds of miles of roads were bulldozed through the jungle.

The damages in Ecuador's Oriente are well-documented by international organizations, particularly by the Natural Resources Defense Council in "Amazon Crude," a book published in 1991. A University of California, Berkeley, study completed in 1992 delineated the problems at Block 10 in the Oriente, a site of ARCO International.

"We are trying to be a model for oil exploration now," Mr. Ledergerber says at this Oxy drilling site near the village of Limoncocha.

But Indian leaders in the Oriente say that oil-company practices are still self-serving and expedient. They explain that centuries of repression and incursions into their rain forest, from Incas to missionaries to oil drillers, have altered their cultures and habits for the worse and introduced devastating diseases.

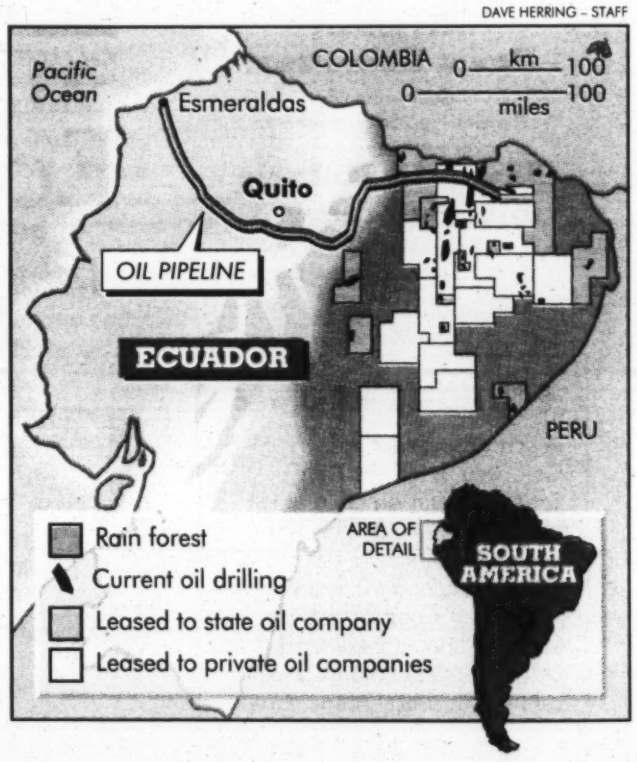
"The policy of the state," says Leonardo Viteri, a leader from OPIP (Organization of Indigenous People of Pastaza), "has been to destroy the rain forest and take out the natural resources. Natural balance is not important to them, but we want to develop programs that complement what the forest gives us. These programs should strengthen families and the community because of the new needs society has put on Indians."

What Indians leaders want is a moratorium on drilling, a time in which all companies would pay indemnification to Indians for damages, repair the environment, create new plans with communities, and then share 1 percent of the oil profits with indigenous groups.

"The new tactics of the oil companies are divide and conquer," says Angel Zamarenda, president of CONFENIAE (Confederation of Indian Organizations of the Ecuadorean Amazon).

"Instead of dealing with us," he says, "the oil companies send someone into the inexperienced communities to talk with leaders, make promises, and get them to sign agreements. It's easier to give money to one leader or to another than to confront an organization like us. The companies create dependence no matter what they say."

DAVE HERRING – STAFF



RAIN forests in Ecuador are still being cut down by oil companies and settlers at an estimated rate of 340,000 hectares a year, the second highest in Latin America. The wood is used for construction, roads, fuel, furniture, and even brooms.

At one time or another, 20 of the world's major oil companies have drilled in Ecuador's jungles. Texaco, one of the builders of the 480-kilometer Trans-Ecuadoriano pipeline, was a major presence.

Yorick Fonseca, a spokesman for Texaco – which is no longer operating in Ecuador – says, "We were part of a consortium, but always minority owners, and we believe always operated to the highest environmental standards."

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ndant on foreign capital and ology and exercising little en- mental control, has encour- oil exploration in national , such as Yasuni National Park gnated a biosphere reserve by SCO), the Cuyabeno Wildlife rve, and the Limoncocha Bio- al Preserve.

ing the roads built by oil com- s, thousands of settlers have d into the rain forest. Denied and and opportunities in cities he highlands, settlers flocked e rain forests to establish small , cattle ranches, and planta- The colonized land was the ory of Indian tribes.

FF

At Maxus Ecuador Inc., a subsidiary of Maxus Energy Corporation in Dallas, Texas, Rossana Faiesta is the director of community relations. Maxus is building a controversial 150-kilometer road and underground pipeline passing through the Yasuni Park and territories of Huaorani and Quichua Indians. The company is negotiating with each village.

"I started in 1990 making an [analysis] of each community," Mrs. Faiesta says, "to look for agreements, how the company can help Indians and minimize the impact on their lives. It's not like companies used to do. We are asking for permission and showing respect for their res."

axus has provided funds to classrooms in several commu- (using Indian labor); paid for gual materials (co-written by munity members); held ing workshops; provided high ol scholarships; and paid the res of teachers to stay in com- ties.

es, we are taking the oil," ta says, "but we leave some- , too." In addition to the edu- n programs, she cites health rams started in the communi- to control malaria and para- and to provide dental care. Maxus makes agreements," says elina Porrate, secretary of en at CONAIE (Confederation digenous People in Ecuador), offers outboard motors, a e, two schools. These are gs that will break and won't last. agreements should be signed the leaders of CONAIE so that ndians have better terms."

s the construction of the road and pipeline pushes through the jungle, Maxus claims the road width is narrower than in the past. Synthetic materials cover the road base rather than wood, thereby reducing deforestation. Clustered well sites will reduce secondary roads, and archaeologists and biologists precede the bulldozers to protect any new species or historical sites. Also, Maxus says that military checkpoints will stop new settlers.

DESPITE repeated requests by this reporter to visit the construction area, Maxus refused access. A spokeswoman said people need "inoculation against malaria and cholera a week before a visit." When I explained that I had just spent a week in the jungle and was willing to sign a liability waiver, Maxus offered a video of the construction.

At Occidental's site near Limoncocha, Ledergerber points to safety features. A cement dike circles the 4.5 hectares area (about 10 acres) to stop spills or overflows of dirty water produced during drilling.

"The site was supposed to be 10 hectares," he says, pointing to the green jungle that surrounds the site, "but we moved to this site so we don't disturb virgin jungle. We are doing [horizontal] drilling here."

Waste pits near the rig are lined with plastic to contain the toxic soups generated during drilling. Pumps send the liquids deep into the earth. In the past, waste sites were glop-filled holes polluting forests and rivers.

"The few trees we've taken down here are processed into chips and used on the roads," he says, mentioning another criticized practice – cutting trees for roadbeds.

All day, trucks travel the road between Shushufindi and Limoncocha. White dust billows up despite water trucks that spray the road to ease the respiratory problems of Indians nearby. In the past, roads were drenched in oil to cut the dust, but the oil ran into rivers.

"We can't live without oil," Lederberger says, "and there are ways of getting it with low impact. We'll probably have an alternative someday, but it's the oil age now."

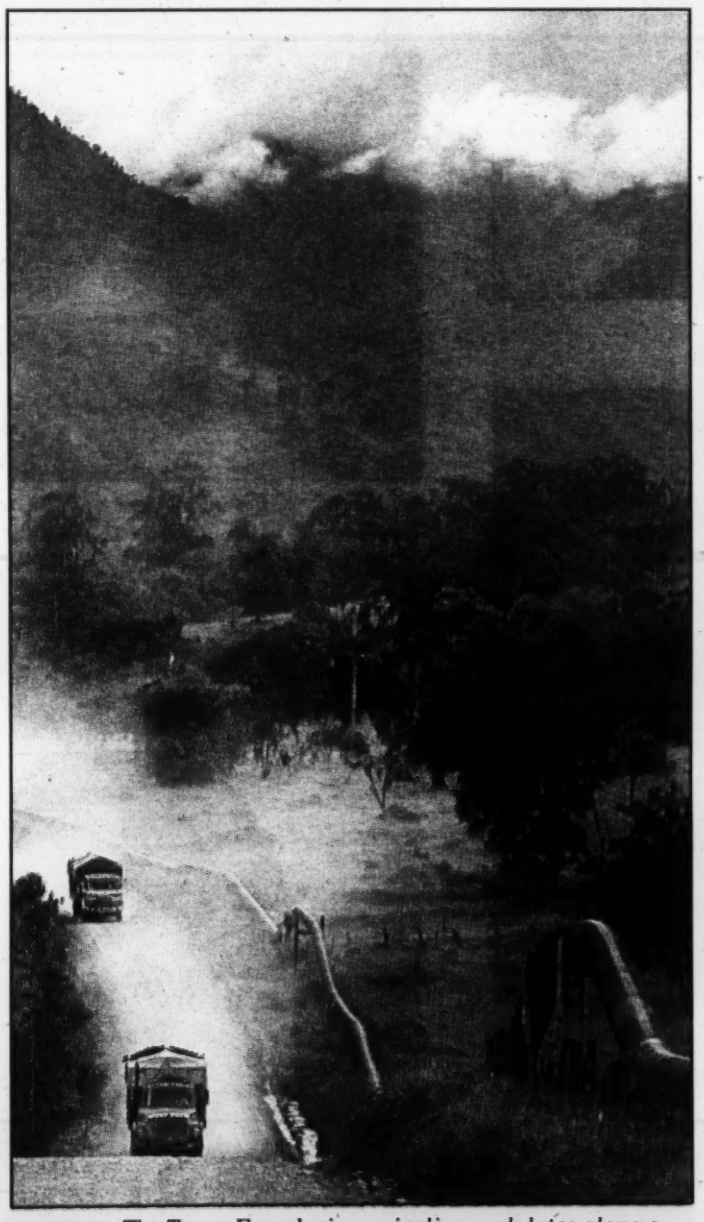
Most Indian leaders don't disagree, but they point to a disparity between intent and practice.

"I told the president of Maxus," says Mr. Zamarenda of CONFENIAE, "to drink from a river where 600 pounds of chemicals recently fell in the water. He wouldn't like it. We will fight this kind of pollution in our lives."

– D. H.

PHOTOS BY MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN - STAFF

COLONISTS: *Mestizo farmer Salomon Bolivar Savala and his wife, Rosario Paredes, settled on land they cleared themselves near the rain-forest frontier community of Lago Agrio, Ecuador, 20 years ago. Here they wait for a bus to take bags of corn to market in the town. Unlike most farmers in their area, they have electricity and a wooden floor in their house.*



SNAKE OIL: *The Trans-Ecuadoriano pipeline undulates along a dusty highway on its way to the coastal city of Esmeraldas.*

RAW ROAD: *A bulldozer near a PetroEcuador refinery churns through the rain forest, the first step in road-building. Thousands of acres have been destroyed in the search for oil.*

Voices of Indian Leaders

PUYO, ECUADOR

THE growth of Indian federations in Ecuador springs from the struggle for land, human rights, and identity.

For years, Indians were not protected or recognized. In 1972, President Rodriguez Lara said, "There is no more Indian problem. We all become white men when we accept the goals of the national culture."

Even Ecuador's well-intentioned 1973 Agrarian Reform Law put obstacles in the path of land distribution, because procedures were complex, expensive, and primarily protected landowners. After years of virtual slavery on the haciendas in the highlands and continued subsistence living in the jungles, Indians were allowed to form organizations at community levels.

Today's indigenous leaders have roots in those organizations and often are encouraged by activist Roman Catholic priests.

Generally supported by outside funds and often barely getting by, the federations are led by men and women deeply committed to their causes. They usually favor nature and family over commercial values.

Many leaders at all levels are not paid. If elected, they get food, housing, and emotional support from family and friends.

Except for the more sophisticated organizations like CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Organizations of the Ecuadorian Amazon), COICA (Coordinating Body of Indigenous People's Organizations of the Amazon Basin), and CONFENIAE (Confederation of Indian Organizations of the Ecuadorian Amazon), daily communication and travel are difficult. Some organizations have computers. OPIP (Organization of Indigenous People of Pastaza), in the province of Pastaza, has two small airplanes donated by a Belgian foundation. OXFAM, based in Boston, Mass., has helped establish a $600,000 endowment fund for COICA, through the AES Corporation in Virginia.

When the various groups gather to discuss issues, marathon discussions often take place for days. Participants go home exhausted.

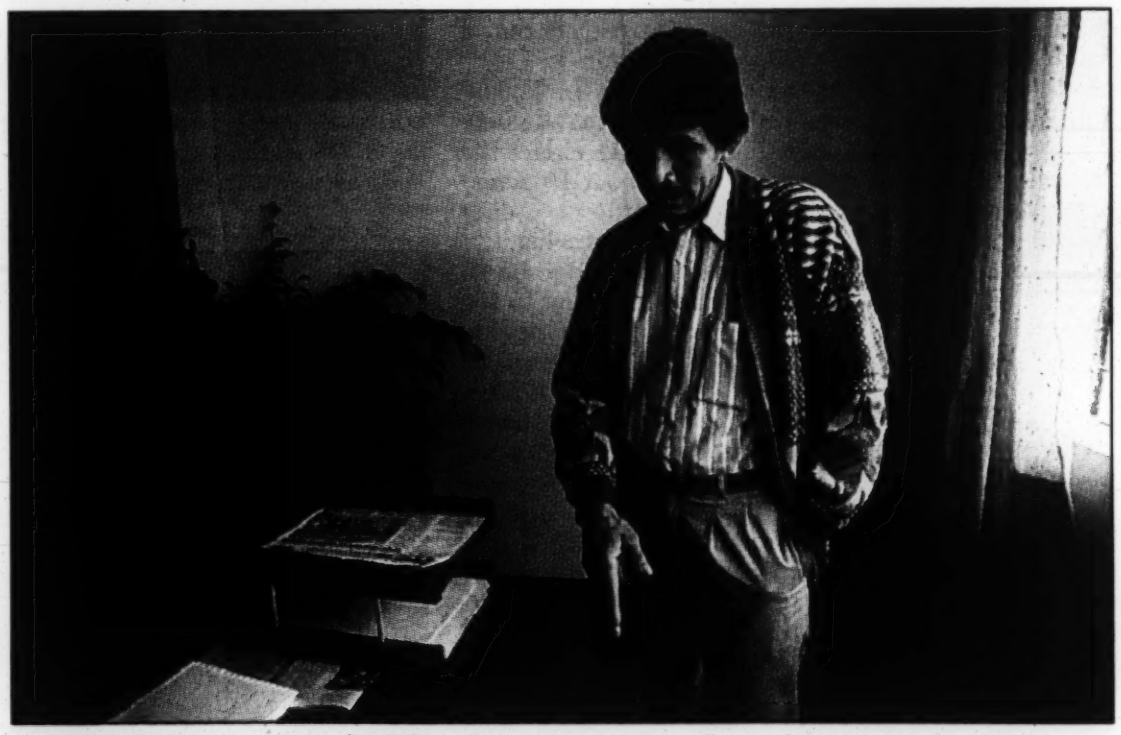
"We haven't had a chance to develop ourselves calmly," says a wistful Leonardo Viteri of OPIP. "The problems always come to us in a series."

– D. H.

PHOTOS BY MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF

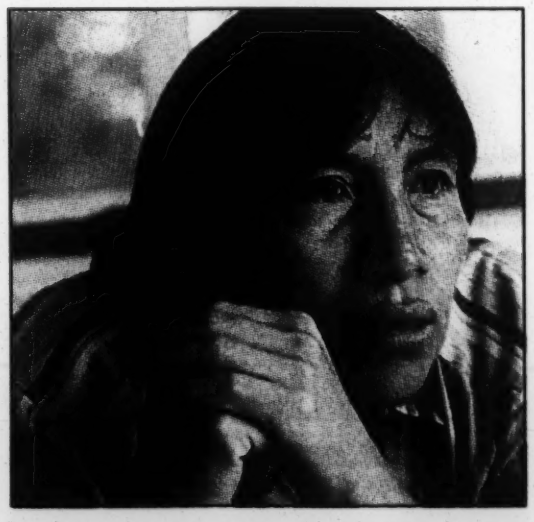
JUAN JIGALO: Secretary of health, CONAIE. "The government tries to explain that our country is an island of peace. But it is not. There is violence against us and human rights violations. The life most people live is poor, with bad health and education. The government calls anyone who protests a subversive or an extremist. But we are claiming our rights, including the right to protest."

CARMELINA PORRATE: Secretary of women, CONAIE. "For the mestizo people, there are differences in people from the coast, from the Sierra, and the state tries to deny that those cultures exist. The state says Ecuador is just one culture. They don't want to accept our proposal that the country is multinational. We want to be able to participate in development because it is not possible, with so many riches here – fish, oil, gold, bananas – that these come back to us at such a high price we can't afford them."



VALERIO GREFA: President of COICA, which represents 1.5 million indigenous people in nine South American countries. "You can't talk about indigenous people without talking about a geographical location where they live and develop. They have territories and should not be divided. But the Huaorani, for instance, signed an agreement with an oil company. The government has said that oil is the life of the Ecuadorean people; without it we cannot live and have roads, education, and houses. This is how the government fooled the Huaorani people."

HECTOR VILLAMIL: President of OPIP. "Pastaza is the only province with an ecological reserve. In other provinces, the land is deforested and destroyed. The Amazon purifies the air for the whole world and should be maintained as a forest reserve. OPIP is ready to fight for legalization of its territories, which is the only guarantee of our survival and the survival of the rain forests."



ANGEL ZAMARENDA: President of CONFENIAE. In April, wearing native clothing, he traveled to the stockholders meeting of Maxus Energy Corporation in Amarillo, Texas, to protest oil exploration. After buying three shares of stock, he was allowed five minutes to speak. "Maxus wanted a secret meeting with us, but after we bought the shares they let us in. I denounced much of what their president had said [about their protection of the rain forest]. I had signed documents from the Cofan [tribe] asking us to denounce what Maxus was doing in their territory. Maxus accepted our proposal to have a meeting here [in Ecuador]."

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ARTS

Chinese Artists Retouch Mao's Image

By Catherine Foster
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SYDNEY

MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY ART, SYDNEY/BEQUEST TO UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

ICON SKEWER: *Mao turns clownlike in this painting by Li Shan, titled: 'The rouge series, no. 21.' Such art can no longer be exhibited in China.*

THERE is no shortage of Mao and communist images in "Mao Goes Pop: China Post-1989." But no longer is Mao the revered icon. It's a clown-faced Mao smiling beatifically, Mao with daisies, a pastel-colored Mao. And on the floor glows a red "carpet," made from 1 million red-tipped matches upended.

The exhibition of 100 works by 29 Chinese artists at the Museum of Contemporary Art here provides a startling glimpse into the artistic heart of China since the massacre at Tiananmen Square in 1989.

"This shows the roller-coaster ride that China has been on since Tiananmen Square as the country politically, culturally, socially keeps shifting gears," says Nicholas Jose, curatorial advisor for the exhibit.

Dr. Jose says that China today "seems to have gone into overdrive with these paradoxes of socialist capitalism: a centralized market economy, a Communist Party that is presiding over rock videos and soft-core porn merchandise, and the reconfiguring of the major revolutionary icon of them all, Chairman Mao."

Good art, Mao decreed, had to be realist; it had to be "red, bright, and shining" portrayals of the heroism of workers and peasants.

The same officially accepted themes are found in the contemporary Sydney exhibition, but the paintings, screenprints, mixed-media works, sculptures, videos, and installations offer a new twist. Following the lead of American Andy Warhol and others, these artists give their national icon the Pop Art treatment. But they aren't just doing Chinese versions of Campbell's soup cans.

"Americans took common, ordinary objects and made them into gods," says curator of the exhibit, Li Xianting, through an interpreter. "The Chinese have taken the image of the god, Mao, and made it into a popular ordinary item. American Pop is a direct reflection of an extremely contemporary theme. Chinese Pop triggers cultural memories and mixes up past cultural icons together with contemporary commercial products."

Mr. Li has worked for two years with Johnson Chang, a Hong Kong art dealer, to assemble some of the works for an exhibition at the Hong Kong Arts Festival. This show has grown out of that.

Many of the faces in the paintings express resignation. But there is a surprising amount of humor.

"Art before Tiananmen Square was serious and idealistic," Jose says. "After Tiananmen Square ... artists turned to black humor and satire as a way of expressing their cynicism. They turned back to some of the styles of the cultural revolution – peasant art, poster art, propaganda art, bright colors – but used them in new ways to satirize this new consumer society."

POP TWIST: *Wang Jingsong's 'Taking A Picture in Front of Tiananmen Square' spoofs propaganda posters of revolutionary workers.*

One painting in the show, "Taking a Picture in Front of Tiananmen Square," is a takeoff of a well-known propaganda poster of workers and peasants. It uses what is otherwise an acceptable official painting of revolutionary workers in appropriate yellows and reds, and then adds company logos for Nikon or Band-Aid. The older figures have been airbrushed out, and the "new Chinese" – Yuppies in running shoes – are smiling in front of them.

This flouting of Communist ideology is astounding, given what's happened in China over the last 20 years. During the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s, artists were sent to toil in the country. In the '80s, the political grip on the art community loosened. And in 1985, a new wave of artists emerged, influenced by Dada, Pop Art, and Surrealism. The authorities turned a blind eye, and even allowed some artists to exhibit in private homes.

Li, leading scholar of 20th-century Chinese art, and publisher of Fine Art in China magazine, has fallen in and out of favor with the establishment as the political winds have changed.

But a few months before the Tiananmen Square massacre, two artists, Tang Song and Xiao Lu, tested official tolerance by firing a pistol into their work, "Dialogue," at the China Art Gallery. They were promptly arrested, which was also part of their work. They eventually made their way to Hong Kong and then Sydney. The two made the incendiary "carpet" of matches for this exhibition.

After Tiananman Square, contemporary art fell victim to ideological attack. Li's magazine was banned. Today, four years after the massacre, the work of these artists cannot be exhibited in China.

Xu Bing, who at an early age was both an artist and a curator, says he and his art students made a copy of the Statue of Liberty that was later destroyed.

"Before Tiananmen everyone said my art was actually a model of Chinese modernism; it was the kind of art that engaged in a dialogue with Western Modernism."

But after Tiananmen, the same influential people that had supported his work now criticized it, saying it represented all the ideological problems of modern art.

Mr. Xu, along with six of the 29 artists, found a more congenial climate in the United States, Europe, and Australia. And their art has taken on international, not Chinese, themes.

"After Tiananmen, the political and cultural trends in China were not really suitable for the development of my art," says Xu, now affiliated with the University of South Dakota.

"China doesn't need art like mine at the moment; it doesn't need new ideas in art. What everybody's concentrating on is the economy and getting rich. Ideological and political concerns have faded out," Xu says.

His installation, "Brailliterate," consists of 10 black wooden tables with Braille books on them entitled, "The New World Translation of the Holy Scripture." A red light glares on each book. The braille book inside the cover is not the Bible. "In my work, I'm dealing with the question of misreading," he says. "It's about cultural trickery or deception."

GU WENDA, who now lives in New York, focuses on personal, not political issues. His waist-length hair makes a statement about his attachment to his country. "This half," he says, holding the last foot of hair, "grew in China, this half," grabbing a handful higher up, "in the US. It's all the same hair. Capitalism and socialism, the same."

He's now gathering hair cuttings from salons and barbers in four New York City neighborhoods: black, Hispanic, Asian, and white. He will mix it up to make bricks for a wall entitled "Legend of Manhattan."

■ *"Mao Goes Pop" runs through August 15 and will go on to Melbourne. Some of the artists' work will be shown at the Venice Biennale, which opens mid-June. Other works are touring Europe in a show, "China Avant Garde." Museums in California, Honolulu, and New York City have expressed interest in the exhibit.*

INTERVIEW

France's Hottest Young Actress

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
CANNES, FRANCE

WHILE attending France's most celebrated movie event, the Cannes Film Festival, it seemed a good idea to pay a call on France's most celebrated movie actress.

Many would give that title to Jeanne Moreau, who hosted the filmfest's final awards ceremony, or to Catherine Deneuve, who starred in "My Favorite Season," the opening-night attraction.

But for many in the new generation of French moviegoers, young Emmanuelle Béart has become the most glowing representative of the mingled skill, intelligence, and beauty that such predecessors as Ms. Moreau and Ms. Deneuve have made synonymous with stardom in French cinema.

Although she has built her reputation in 10 movies and a number of stage productions, Ms. Béart is known to international audiences for her work in two important films: "Manon of the Spring," a romantic drama in which she played the title character; and "La Belle Noiseuse," a four-hour epic about the creation of a painting.

Now she is bidding for a new burst of popularity with "Un Coeur en Hiver," or "A Heart in Winter," in which she plays a gifted musician torn between two attractive men. Directed by Claude Sautet, with more energy and imagination than his films often contain, it is a sensitive look at an uncommonly strong woman – she is a talented artist, while the men in her life are artisans with more modest abilities – and a strong friendship that complicates the relationship between the men.

I visited Béart on the terrace of a well-appointed hotel suite not far from the Palais du Festival, where she had come to help launch "Un Coeur en Hiver" on its international track. There wasn't a musical instrument in sight, and I couldn't help asking the actress – whose onscreen musicmaking is utterly convincing – whether she was a trained violinist before taking her role.

On the contrary, she told me, "I never touched an instrument before in my life, so I had to work like crazy to do this part." The work consisted of practice, practice, practice, three hours every day for a solid year. "Very often I felt like just throwing away my violin because it was so hard," Béart recalled with a rueful smile.

This determination to master an aspect of her role that many performers might have tried to fake – or at least to slide through with a minimum of effort – is typical of Béart's approach to acting.

"There are different schools of acting," she says, "the American school and the French school. Those who are French just come on the set, and they're ready; but the Americans want to work [on their roles] beforehand.... I don't know if it's a compliment or not, but very often people tell me that I'm like an American, because I really want to work before the movie."

Béart agrees that it's unusual for a movie to focus on a strong, capable woman while relegating the chief male characters to supporting roles. But she believes this is an accurate reflection of relationships between men and women today.

'UN COEUR EN HIVER': *Emmanuelle Béart (l.) and Brigitte Catillon in the film by Claude Sautet.*

"Women are trying to catch up with men," she says in her lightly accented English, "and men are trying to escape. Women have taken such power, such authority, that I think men are more afraid of women than they were before. It's something I can see around me all the time.... There's something that isn't going very well between men and women, and the balance needs to be corrected. This movie is a little bit like that."

BéART'S career has been marked by appearances in radically different films by radically different directors. "La Belle Noiseuse" is the work of Jacques Rivette, one of the world's most experimental filmmakers, while "Un Coeur en Hiver" represents Mr. Sautet's characteristically conservative style. Is there a kind of culture shock when switching between projects of such different natures?

"Working in different films makes me feel I'm very different, too," the actress replies. "It's like you have a house, and every time you open a window you see a different landscape. We didn't have any script in Jacques Rivette's film. We were doing the movie day by day. Rivette is someone who loves a feeling of danger; we didn't know what we were going to do each day, and that's the way he likes it."

In a striking contrast, Béart continues, Sautet is "completely different, because he knows exactly what he wants a whole year earlier. We had dinner every week for a year, talking about the scenes. He knew exactly how he was going to do it, exactly how he was going to shoot it, and he knew every single word of the script, and he played the scenes for me, one year before."

Which filmmaker's approach is more exciting?

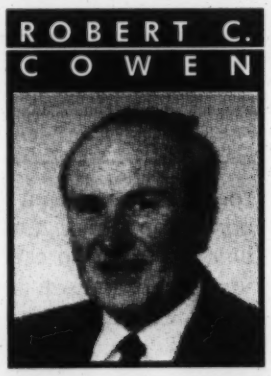
"What I like above everything is the difference," Béart responds thoughtfully. "For three years I've been working with some very crazy people, but they're all wonderful, and I am very lucky. It gives me the feeling that every day I am doing something different in my life – and I don't know what it's going to be tomorrow."

Andrew May Have Been the Storm After the Lull

ROBERT C. COWEN

HURRICANE Andrew's devastating attack on Florida last August may have been a just foretaste of future dangers.

It was a major storm – a category 4 on a scale that ranges from 1 (mildest) to 5 (most severe). It is rare for such a powerful storm to come ashore in the experience of most people now living in Caribbean, Gulf of Mexico, and North American Atlantic seaboard regions. But such events may not be so rare in the future, according to hurricane scientist William Gray of Colorado State University at Fort Collins.



Dr. Gray predicts that the hurricane season that began June 1 "should overall be about an average season." It should have about seven hurricanes, including two storms of category 3, 4, or 5 intensity. Last year, he correctly forecast four hurricanes, including one major storm – Andrew.

This continues a long-playing pattern of relatively restrained hurricane action. But Gray warns that what he calls the "great lull in ... [category 3-4-5] landfalling hurricanes over the past 25 years" can't be expected to continue indefinitely. On the basis of historical and geological records, he expects a return to a pattern of more major hurricanes. He adds that, because of coastal development, the United States could "see hurricane destruction as never before experienced."

Gray's warning reflects the fact that the more scientists study North Atlantic hurricanes, the more they learn of their destructive potential. For example, Gray bases his warning on more than the history of the storms themselves. He also takes account of the climatology of several factors that strongly influence a hurricane season's activity.

These include the presence or absence of an El Niño warm-water pool in the equatorial Pacific Ocean. A warm El Niño inhibits Atlantic hurricane formation. Winds that girdle the planet at heights of 16 to 35 kilometers (52,500 to 115,000 feet) also play a role. They reverse direction roughly every two years. On average, there's almost twice as much Atlantic hurricane activity when the winds tend to blow from the west than when they blow from the east. The Colorado researchers have also found several regional factors – such as West African rainfall and air pressure patterns – that influence hurricanes.

Gray sees the "lull" in major hurricane attack as a "natural consequence" of a slowdown in Atlantic Ocean circulation. This is closely related to such factors as West African drought and increased El Niño activity over the past 25 years. When this pattern changes, hurricane action may pick up.

Scientists also are finding new aspects of storm violence. For example, University of Chicago meteorologist T. Theodore Fujita found evidence of small rotating vortexes in pictures of Andrew's destruction. These are different from the tornadoes that hurricanes often spawn. They form in the eye wall where winds spiral around the hurricane's quiet center. They can spin up to speeds of perhaps 80 miles per hour (m.p.h.). When pushed along by the hurricane's main winds, the combination of the speed with which the vortex travels over the ground and its spin speed can produce a total wind of 200 m.p.h. or more.

Although an encounter with one of these vortexes would be rare, it could demolish a structure in seconds. Buildings designed to withstand expected sustained hurricane winds would be vulnerable to this previously unexpected hazard.

If the frequency of landfalls by major hurricanes picks up, the damage potential is far higher than is generally realized. Insurance companies, safety officials, and residents in vulnerable areas should wake up to this fact. Their current plans for coping with hurricane disaster are likely to be quite inadequate.

The Home Forum

Father and Son With a Taste for Adventure

COURTESY OF PERRY ART GALLERY, NEW YORK

'POLISH WORKERS': *Pencil on paper, 90 by 60 in., by Michele Sedaka.*

IT was 3 o'clock in the morning, parked in the Mount of Olives, that I discovered just how determinedly asleep Angus could be if he so decided. It was not the most convenient time for him to demonstrate this capacity because I needed his help in dealing with two young Palestinians who were attempting to persuade me, through the front window of the car, to make a donation to the funds of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It was a small incident on a big journey, during which I and Angus, father and son, discovered as much about ourselves as the lands we visited.

That we were there at all was the result of a casual promise I had made to Angus one day when he was very young and suffering from a bout of boredom.

"One day we'll go on an expedition," I had said, "just you and I – an adventure, somewhere exciting."

I meant it, in the sense that it would be something I would love to do – to have time with him without the impingement of other demands – but in leaving the date indeterminate I was subconsciously excluding the likelihood of it ever happening. For me the whole conversation was forgotten before teatime.

I should have known better. For Angus it was already fact; by *his* teatime he had fought crocodiles in Brazil, macheted through equatorial rainforest, and sledded halfway to the pole.

He nursed my promise right through his teens, and then on graduating he reminded me of it and suggested that now was a good time for the adventure.

I swallowed hard. How was I to find several weeks for an "adventure" when I couldn't even find 10 minutes to tie back the clematis over the front door? And what about the family, the loss of income, the risks?

I stalled for as long as I could, but I knew deep down that honor was at stake. I would have to go. It turned out to be one of the best decisions I ever made.

Looking at an atlas with adventure in mind was in itself a new experience. We would travel by car and boat; there was no adventure in a jumbo jet. But where? It was Angus's choice. I waited apprehensively. He chose the Valley of the Kings.

Egypt. I looked at the globe and the childhood explorer stirred in me. The pharaohs, pyramids, the Nile, bulrushes, and Moses. And on the way, the gilded mosques of Istanbul, the burnt rocks of the Jordanian desert. Could we manage the lost city of Petra, or even a detour to Greece and ancient Delphi?

These lauded and chronicled marvels of man were the jewels that sparkled in our minds. We would see them all, touch them, photograph them, talk of them to others when we got home. And we did – but the real discoveries and rewards were quite different. They came from living and sleeping and eating in an area 6 feet by 4 feet; from being isolated by language, facing problems and danger without the support of wife or peers; from being dependent on ourselves and on each other.

Initially our "adventure" had the ambience of a holiday. The novelty of having our house on our back took us through the friendly, familiar countryside of Britain, and anticipation smoothed our passage across the North Sea. But then the strictures of small-car life and the dilemmas of foreign travel roughened the road. That is when the traits of character that I firmly believed belonged only to others suddenly identified themselves in me.

How many times had I said to the children: "Put it away where you found it," or "Have you left the bathroom tidy?' The implication was that children were always making a mess and parents always tidy. I believed it. Until one night after a hazardous drive through the mountains of Yugoslavia I was searching in vain for a flashlight and Angus said, with certainty:

"In the corner, left-hand side, under the maps of Turkey."

"Oh," I said.

"If you could try and put things back where you found them...." He carried on peeling an orange.

I looked at him blankly, considered pulling rank, saying something trite like, "Don't forget who you're talking to," but settled for silence. He was right, of course. There were no prerogatives attached to being Angus's father. The Russian soldiers with submachine guns who questioned us in Czechoslovakia had already made that perfectly clear.

Little things were coming to light, weaknesses and strengths that in everyday life might never be noticed. They were easy to recognize but much harder to accept, and yet they had to be if harmony were to reign – 24 square feet is just too small an area in which to fight. So pride was the one to take the hammering, and disagreement was laid low by the eloquence of silence.

We turned right at Taksimplatz in Istanbul because Angus had a gut feeling that if we wanted to get into Asia that's the way we should go. I came to trust his gut feelings – anyhow I couldn't find my way out of a parking lot without directions. On the other hand, when we suddenly hit the rush-hour traffic of Berlin, Angus surrendered the wheel, and I accepted without comment his admission that the melee and confusion was too much.

Asia continued the lessons of self-revelation. It brought fear. Not the private fear of the child, of the dark, of animals, nor the personal fear of the adult, of losing a job, of being unable to provide, but immediate and shared fears that were threatening and without promise of peaceful resolution.

One of several instances was the night we were camped in the mountains close to the Syrian border and woke in the small hours of the morning to find our car surrounded by dark, turbaned men with scarves across their mouths. That was when our status, pride, and self-assurance were desquamated in short order; that was when father saw son and son saw father.

But only a few hours later we shared moments of great joy: brewing early morning coffee on the ramparts of a desert fort last occupied by the Crusaders; watching a newly-kindled sun brush the night's chill from the endless sand and settle down to another day of eternity; talking to a monk in the awesome solitude

Good Scrap and Good Stories

POINTING to a rickety old typewriter with its spools and springs agape, Nirmal said to me with quiet pride, "I've got all my stories out of this." Nirmal was alluding to his literary creations, the nine novels he has written in the last 25 years.

When I first heard of Nirmal's proclivity for the pen, the fact had struck me as highly incongruous. Wouldn't his humdrum job as the keeper of the storeroom of the museum where we work serve to keep the muses away? It was hard for me to imagine how one's daily preoccupation with managing provisions and handling raw stock could facilitate the conception of plots and characters. But then this was before I became friends with Nirmal.

Nirmal writes his stories in Hindi, the native language of north India. Describing situations and relationships with sensitivity and candor, he mainly explores themes from pastoral life. I guess this is his way of staying in touch with the rural ethos. I make this presumption because I know that Nirmal grew up in a small village by the side of the Ganges river. My friend often speaks to me of his childhood home, painting word-pictures of bright blue skies and golden harvests and dancing fireflies that I, a city-dweller, can only perceive from afar, like a moviegoer enjoying the sparkling seas washing upon exotic palm-fringed beaches on screen.

Like any hard-working author who hopes to get published, Nirmal has been trying to get his break in the Hindi literary circuit, which is a small and fledgling market for novelists. "It's like this," Nirmal explains, "There has been a serious erosion of the home readership because of the coming of video and cable television. The growth of popular Hindi magazines has also contributed to narrow the market for novels. The travel segment is where I've pinned my hopes. More and more people seem to be browsing railroad bookshops for the kind of stories I write."

Haven't the dry, unfruitful years of endeavor blunted his enthusiasm? I asked my friend this once while we shared lunch inside the cool, cavernous shed that serves as his storeroom. Nirmal was quiet for some moments, looking thoughtfully at the leafy tamarind tree outside the window. His answer, when it came, was deep and clear as fresh spring water. "Yes, I do want to see my manuscripts in the press. But I guess I couldn't have carried on for so long if it had been my sole concern."

Strangely, it is Nirmal's attitude toward his other concern, his "humdrum" storeroom chores, that gives me an insight into how he's able to handle his literary aspirations with such maturity. I find Nirmal's absorption with the nitty-gritty of his daily work – be it ordering a new batch of furniture, getting a faulty air conditioner repaired, or issuing me stationery – as complete as the concentration with which he clacks out a story idea on his vintage typewriter. Nirmal loves his storeroom, its unruliness, its smells of machine oil and paper and packets of washing soap.

Walk into Nirmal's storeroom any day, and you'll be confronted with bags and cartons filling the vast groundspace around his table. A cyclostyle perches atop a large wooden crate. Half a dozen fans lie huddled together in one corner. Metal racks rise up to the ceiling. Nirmal's table, with its ping-pong-size surface, is home to numerous unwanted utilities such as old locks, brass doorknobs gone out of fashion, an assortment of burnt-out electrical switches, and other discards periodically phased out of the museum.

NIRMAL is forever trying to retrieve useful bits and pieces from the motley collection on his table. So I know that the unaffected copper screws and pins will be assiduously removed from the fused switches and put away in little plastic packets for future use, and the rusted locks will be cajoled with oil in the hope of getting the levers to move again. Meanwhile, the doorknobs serve as convenient paperweights.

My friend's obsession with resuscitating scrap surprises me to no end. How does it mix, I wonder, with his other passion? Nirmal, of course, is quite bemused by my incomprehension. In fact, he tells me that his dual preoccupations are not as different as they seem. He says, "Isn't it a little like writing, working at all this jumble? Either way you've got to make sense out of confusion."

Now, I've known my friend long enough to be sure that his lighthearted explanation is no mere play of wit. Somewhere along the way, he has discovered the secret of reconciling the incompatibles of literature and trivia.

And I have come to further believe that Nirmal's "secret" is bound up with a deeper conciliation, where thoughts of future rewards have been subsumed by small everyday joys, such as twisting a vagrant piece of wire into a candlestand or describing the graceful dance of peacocks after the rains.

Sunil Gupta

of a mountain monastery. These are the experiences we talked about then and still talk about now: They're the ones that brought mutual enlightenment.

Interestingly, the single occasion of embittered disagreement between us was over the most trivial of matters and under circumstances of no danger. We were on our return journey, within the safe boundaries of Switzerland. Snow had started to fall in the early morning, and by late afternoon the roads were almost impassable. During the blizzard we took a wrong turn and found ourselves climbing the side of a mountain that should not have been there. We were tired and disgruntled at the delay, and we each felt the other was to blame. When a little mountain guest house appeared through the flying snow, I stopped the car.

"We'd better ask here," I suggested.

"All right," said Angus, though asking the way was not something he liked to do.

We both sat there.

"Well," I said, looking straight ahead.

"Well," he replied.

"It's your turn," I said.

"I asked last time – in Yugoslavia."

"You didn't."

"I did."

We sat there, hunched defiantly, 10 yards from the solution to our problem. The admonition I had trotted out on countless occasions of childhood disputes flashed through my mind.

"Does it really matter?" I used to say with exasperation.

Just then it did. We laugh about it now, but in retrospect it was salutary. Pettiness so often sows the seeds of confrontation.

How did we settle it? I can't remember and, if I did, it would have to remain a secret. You understand? That's what our adventure did for us – brought us closer together, developed mutual respect, made us the best of friends.

Terence Leigh

Why Trust God?

FOR many people, prayer is the final resort when things get really bad. Yet why do we sometimes have to be on the edge of disaster before we turn to God? Could it be a lack of trust in His power? Prayer would probably be the *first* thing we would do if we really thought it would be most helpful!

Recently I watched some people walk across a still-frozen but thawing lake. Although they made it across, it seemed pretty risky to me. Is trusting God similarly risky? No. Unlike thawing ice, which may break up at any moment, the truth of God, man's eternal Life, is solid footing for our lives, leading us to our relationship with Him as the most stable thing there is.

What, then, is the prayer that enables us to rely on God as our first and also as our last resort? Is there some special formula for "correct" prayer? Of course not. The form prayer takes is as individual as the person doing the praying! Christ Jesus showed mankind just what is possible when life is based wholly on God. In the Bible's book of Matthew, Jesus gives what we've come to call the "Lord's Prayer." It begins: "Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

What is God's will? God is purely, unequivocally good. And His will for us is always good. Spiritual goodness is the expression of God. As God's creation and reflection, you and I are also spiritual and completely good. It is a perception of this that is an important component of true, dependable prayer. And such prayer helps us to know—and do—His will.

Spiritual Truth—revealing the true nature of man as God's perfect, spiritual creation—is what gives prayer its potency. In *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer of Christian Science, devotes her very first chapter to prayer. She says on the first page of that chapter, "Desire is prayer; and no loss can occur from trusting God with our desires, that they may be moulded and exalted before they take form in words and in deeds." And she further elucidates this vital topic throughout the book.

What is it that transforms people through God's power and presence in answer to prayer? It is Christ, Truth—something so fundamentally the foundation of Jesus' life as God's Son that we call him Christ Jesus. Christ is God's own spiritual idea, constantly present to effect changes in your perception of yourself. Instead of your holding a "born into matter, fend for yourself" concept of identity, the Christly influence can lead you to understand your true nature—which is spiritual. In other words, you'll learn of your own identity as God's expression, man, spiritually created and tenderly cared for with all the might that Jesus associated with our Father, God.

A few winters ago I was out with a group for a day's outing of fun in the snow, when I found myself weak with influenza symptoms. "What in the world am I doing out here in this condition?" I asked myself. Then I remembered that I really *could* trust the ever-presence and power of God through prayer. I prayed immediately and with trust in God, and in a matter of seconds I felt so sure of God's care that I was completely healed.

And that's only one of the many times I've seen how reliable trust in God can be! No one needs to be an "expert" to pray, either. Jesus said that if you have faith only the size of a grain of mustard seed, "nothing shall be impossible unto you." That's just the beginning. Faith can lead you to actually understanding more of the Christ-power that answers prayer. When you understand even a little of God's tremendous strength—His all-power—you naturally depend on it—not just when you are at the end of your rope, but at *any* point in your life.

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

New Court Pick Fits Bill

FINALLY, President Clinton has found a candidate for the Supreme Court whose credentials appear to be surprise-proof.

With solid support from key Democrats and Republicans, including GOP Senate leader Robert Dole, Federal Appeals Court Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg seems certain to be quickly confirmed as the second woman justice on the high court and the first Jewish member of the court since Justice Abe Fortas retired in 1969.

But the White House press conference June 14, at which the president announced Judge Ginsburg's nomination, could not erase the shadow of the administration's mishandling of two other prospects for the post: Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt and Federal Appeals Court Judge Stephen Breyer of Massachusetts. The two, and the public, had been led to believe that one of them would be chosen.

It is easier to justify bypassing Mr. Babbitt, since he holds a key Cabinet post that many environmentalists consider as vital a position as a seat on the Supreme Court. But Babbitt himself had made it clear that a lifetime high-court seat would be preferable.

Judge Breyer had seemed in the past few days to be the more likely choice, despite the disclosure that he had inadvertently failed to pay Social Security taxes for a domestic employee – a pitfall that resulted in the dropping of two previous Justice Department candidates. This did not seem to be an obstacle for Breyer.

The president was clearly enjoying the announcement of Ginsburg's nomination in the White House Rose Garden until near the end, when a television reporter asked him whether the treatment of Breyer and Babbitt indicated that the administration was still having coordination problems.

Mr. Clinton revealed his sensitivity to the implied criticism, saying: "I have long since given up the thought that I could disabuse some of you turning any substantive decision into anything but political process."

Even that contretemps could not negate the overall effect produced by Judge Ginsburg's account of her career and her judicial philosophy.

Assuming Ginsburg's confirmation, Clinton can take credit for achieving greater balance on the Supreme Court by adding a second woman. Ginsburg and Justice Sandra Day O'Connor should make a strong women's-rights team, despite some differences.

Security Report Card

AMID the daily influx of news from the world's trouble spots, it often seems hard to step back and gauge the impact of the cold war's end on international security.

A report from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), however, identifies some encouraging trends. Its 1992 yearbook, released June 15, also reinforces the notion that the international community must do a better job of responding effectively to conflicts that stem from ethnic tensions.

Among the encouraging signs:

■ Global defense spending has dropped 15 percent since 1991, for the most part due to cuts by the former Soviet Union.

■ Arms exports dropped by roughly 25 percent, although the United States remains the largest exporter. In 1992, it accounted for 46 percent of international arms shipments.

■ Five countries embroiled in war in 1991 were at peace last year: El Salvador, Ethiopia, Kuwait, Western Sahara, and Uganda.

■ Several significant arms-control agreements and security pacts were signed during the year, including the multilateral Chemical Weapons Convention, the second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty between the United States and Russia, and the Open Skies Treaty between NATO and members of the former Warsaw Pact.

The United Nations has played a large role in dealing with international conflicts.

Between 1991 and 1992, the number of military personnel in peacekeeping operations grew from 10,000 to 15,000. By the end of 1992, the number had grown to about 48,000. Yet for their increased numbers, UN peacekeepers have met with decidedly mixed success.

In general, the annual report holds that the trend in reduced defense spending will continue through the rest of the decade and will contribute to a "very gradual decrease in the annual total of conflicts."

These signs, however, are tempered by the 30 "major" wars, which SIPRI defines as those with more than 1,000 casualties, still being fought. Tragically, the five nations that left the conflict category last year were replaced by five others: Kashmir, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Laos, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

That 30 major conflicts remain on the world's agenda is unacceptable. Dealing with them will remain as much a function of international resolve as of numbers of diplomats, soldiers, tanks, or planes.

Forgiveness in Statecraft

IS there a place for forgiveness in relations between nations?

The question may seem naive or even facetious, but does anyone doubt that the situation in the Balkans or Somalia, for instance, could benefit from the leavening effect of forgiveness?

Only rarely does there emerge a leader of the moral genius of Lincoln, whose response to his advisers' proposal for hanging Jefferson Davis, president of the rebellious Confederacy, was, Judge not, that ye be not judged.

History does, though, record examples of leaders who, however mixed their motives, have had the vision and courage to take their people beyond grievances to progressive relationships with former enemies.

RUTH WALKER

Forgiveness was once an explicit part of statecraft, observes political scientist Richard Mansbach at Iowa State University. "Through the 17th and 18th and on into the 19th centuries, it was central to balance-of-power politics that at the end of a war, the aggressor be brought back into the family of nations."

This became harder later on, Professor Mansbach adds: Democratic governments seeking popular support for wars must demonize their enemies in a way that makes it hard to make amends afterward. The vindictiveness of the peace imposed on Germany after World War I was the soil in which the seeds of the next war sprouted. The Franco-German reconciliation after World War II, however, is one of the best examples of two long-term enemies finally making peace.

French President François Mitterrand escaped from a Nazi prison camp during the war and became a fighter in the Resistance; but when addressing the German Bundestag 10 years ago on the 20th anniversary of the Franco-German friendship treaty, he was able to refer to the Germans as a "great, noble, and courageous people whom we have come to know and love."

A cynic might observe that the treaty being thus commemorated had been nearly a generation in the making, and that it represented Charles de Gaulle's calculation that a Franco-German alliance was less distasteful than an Anglo-French one.

But Dr. Ed Haley at Claremont-McKenna College in California sees the postwar Franco-German situation as a good example of three important factors contributing to forgiveness in statecraft: the leaders involved, the "lessons" the people have learned, and external circumstances.

In postwar Europe, the national leaders were nonnationalistic moderates, the people had been through two wars that had reduced Germany to rubble and left both sides exhausted, and the United States was standing by urging reconciliation and offering the help of the Marshall Plan.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's peacemaking trip to Jerusalem is an important example of a leader's vision of transcending grievance, Dr. Haley notes; but lacking wider popular support, the Egyptian-Israeli peace has borne but limited fruit.

In the former Yugoslavia, on the other hand, we see leaders ranging from, in Dr. Haley's words, "incompetent to evil"; the people have not yet learned the futility of war as the French and Germans had by 1945; and the outside world is not offering particular help, much less a specific construct like the Marshall Plan or the European Common Market to help focus energy.

■ *Ruth Walker is the Monitor's deputy editor.*

No Need to Fear Cárdenas Senior or Junior

LETTERS

The Opinion page article "NAFTA and Mexico," June 3, is excellent. The author mentions the fear that a presidency by Cuauthémoc Cárdenas Solóranzo, the son of a president who nationalized the oil industry, could lead to a return of state intervention in the economy. He then writes, accurately, that such fears are exaggerated.

In 1938 President Lazaro Cárdenas had no intention of nationalizing. International oil barons rejected a ruling of Mexico's Supreme Court and threatened to "bring Mexico's economy to a grinding halt." My wife's uncle, then secretary of the Treasury, was with the president at the time. The oilmen provoked the oil industry's nationalization.

The real threat to the US, Mexico, and their treaties is Mexico's lack of democracy. Indeed, "Why fear Mexican democracy?"

Jorge Prieto *Chicago*

Questioning tradition

In contrast to the editorial "Keep Whaling Commission Intact," May 14, I commend the International Whaling Commission for extending the international moratorium on whaling. Japanese representatives justified whaling as a tradition and challenged Americans to stop eating beef. In fact, both traditions deserve challenge.

Protecting whales represents an opportunity for the global society to demonstrate self-control in exploiting other species – a beacon of hope in the current mass extinction. In addition, many individuals around the world have found new reasons to value these animals alive more than dead.

Eating beef also deserves reevaluation, as the raising of beef cows in many areas of the world is questionable land use, and many aspects of current factory farming in the United States today are inhumane.

Society needs to evaluate actions on their own current merits as well as by the values of past generations.

Catherine Badgley *Chelsea, Mich.*

OPINION/ESSAYS

IAEA runs into obstacles in its attempt to inspect nuclear-waste disposal sites

North Korea Hangs Tough on Nuclear Policy

By Alexander T. Lennon

ON June 12, North Korea temporarily diffused an international crisis when it announced it would suspend its withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

The crisis began when Pyongyang announced its intention to withdraw from the NPT on March 12. This declaration was primarily a response to the demand of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to be allowed to inspect two undeclared nuclear waste-disposal sites at Yongbyon. Such verification had never been invoked against any NPT member state.

But the crisis is not over. Pyongyang has only temporarily suspended its withdrawal and still will not allow the IAEA access to the two sites in question. Not only the future of Korean relations but the entire nonproliferation regime hinges upon the resolution of the nuclear crisis in North Korea.

Fundamentally, two objectives should guide US actions regarding this crisis. First, strengthen the nonproliferation regime, including the IAEA's right to "special inspections." Second, improve stability on the Korean peninsula.

Until this latest crisis, improvements in North-South Korean relations had been proceeding nicely.

So what changed? Why did Pyongyang reverse that momentum and endanger not only its relations with Seoul, but also with Tokyo, Washington, Moscow, and even Beijing?

There are several possible motivations for North Korean action. They might just have been caught "red-handed" with a significant amount of nuclear material, or even a bomb. Since special inspections had never been invoked before, North Korea might not have believed that the IAEA would ever request access to these sites.

North Korea might also have thought that it had been making concessions to the US and the IAEA without receiving any benefits (there have been six regular IAEA inspections in North Korea since April 1992, but none verifying the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from South Korean soil).

Some analysts have speculated that Kim Jong Il, Kim Il Sung's son and heir-designate might be provoking this crisis to improve his credibility as the next North Korean leader.

Regardless of its motivation, however, it is clear that North Korea's intention is reversible. In fact, Pyongyang has consistently articulated its conditions to permanently remain in the NPT. In its initial statement on March 12, North Korea declared its "...principled stand will remain unchanged until the United States stops its nuclear threats against the DPRK and the IAEA Secretariat returns to its principle of independence and impartiality."

Pyongyang has only temporarily suspended its withdrawal and still will not allow the IAEA access to the two sites in question.

On May 3, Kim Gi Ryong, North Korea's information minister, reiterated these conditions, specifying that Pyongyang wanted the US to withdraw its nuclear weapons from South Korea. Although the Clinton administration has been slow to act, it has taken two significant preliminary measures.

Beginning on June 2, Madeleine Albright, US Ambassador to the UN, reiterated the US position that it would not use nuclear weapons against nonnuclear, NPT member-states.

On June 2-3, Washington met with North Korean leaders about this issue, even though the US does not officially recognize North Korea. Diplomatically, this is a significant step for North Korea, which is trying to improve its political legitimacy and trade relations with the international community.

Substantively, however, the high-level meetings removed the June 12 deadline but did not resolve the issues that precipitated the crisis.

Additional measures can still be taken to strengthen the NPT and improve stability on the Korean Peninsula.

In return for North Korea's permanent reversal of its intention to withdraw from the NPT, and Pyongyang's acceptance of special inspections on the two nuclear sites in question, the US should:

■ Reassure Pyongyang that any evidence of its nuclear program will not be punished by the international community as long as it renounces nuclear weapons. We should encourage North Korea to follow South Africa's example and just "come clean." Any negative precedent set by "forgiveness" has already been set by South Africa and is insignificant if North Korea's potential nuclear program can be incorporated into the treaty's safeguards.

■ Immediately invite the IAEA to inspect the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from South Korean soil. This would set no precedent but it would enhance the perception of the IAEA as an impartial body.

■ Offer the establishment of diplomatic relations with North Korea upon successful resolution of the nuclear issue.

This would not set a bad precedent, both because North Korea has never explicitly demanded diplomatic relations and because the United States should establish diplomatic relations with any responsible, nonnuclear members of the international community.

Any precedent set would be positive.

The US, acting with the international community, has the capability to successfully manage a major international crisis. Without resolution of this crisis, tensions on the Korean peninsula and the risk of nuclear proliferation will increase drastically.

The measures outlined above would address all three possible North Korean motivations and give North Korea a way out by offering Pyongyang better political standing and a superior climate for economic relations, once the nuclear issue is resolved.

The worst thing that the US can do is assume that this crisis has been resolved. In fact, it has only been postponed.

■ *Alexander T. Lennon is a research analyst in proliferation and arms control at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.*

Harvard '58, II: Posterity Now

THE Memorial Chapel steeple rises high over Harvard Yard so that the peals of its bells can carry over the elms and Georgian brick of the Cambridge environs.

But for those inside remembering classmates asterisked in our class roll since our last gathering, the 18 deep, long chungs of the chapel bell sank down into our bones.

Listening competed with feeling to record the last of the attentuated sound.

By the standard of how institutions and individuals embrace each other for the mutual sustenance that civilization requires, Harvard is doing well, classmates agreed.

The university itself is undergoing renewal. Buildings in the yard are wrapped in enormous cloaks for refurbishment. The undergraduate curriculum is under review. President Neil Rudenstine, finishing his sophomore year as president, is laying new paths to connect Harvard's fiercely independent disciplines. For undergraduates there will be new concentrations in science and public policy. An African studies program will serve as a model for programs in American Latino, Asian-American, and native American studies. A focus on the Chinese diaspora will start next year.

RICHARD J. CATTANI

Such programs reflect how Harvard is reexamining what it means to be a university in today's world. Can a college of limited size really admit more students from abroad? Should it attempt more regional-studies programs in Cambridge or create opportunities to study abroad: summer internships in other countries, or whole years out, which would extend the period required to get a degree?

Instruction in the most fundamental skill, *writing*, is now taught as a required entrance course; this needs to be followed up throughout a student's studies. Experiential learning – that is, the performance arts such as music and theater – is now relegated largely to student extracurricular life: Harvard is debating again whether such activities should be brought into the curriculum.

Does the public-service work that takes up a great deal of undergraduate time and energy require accommodation? Already, Harvard students working in nearby school systems can get state teaching certification along with their undergraduate degree.

And the big question: What should be the scope and purpose of Harvard's next big fundraising campaign? President Rudenstine is seeking a consensus on this now.

This is a college, America's oldest, looking forward.

The dozens of classmates this reporter talked with generally agreed that Rudenstine's leadership is appropriate for the times. Repeatedly they linked concerns for the long view to actions now.

The class itself? Thirty-five years later, uniformity is as absent as ever. The one unifying factor, a classmate observes, is that "They are all *interesting* people."

"Shame" and "wisdom" are two themes that one psychiatrist in the class pursues in his practice. Another studies the sanitive strengths of families. And tries to measure how counseling helps.

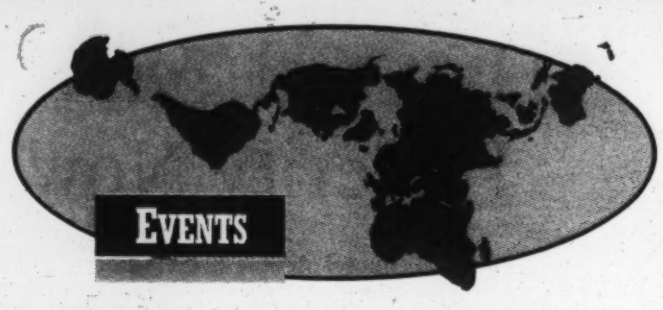
President Clinton comes in for a lot of headshaking. His diversity theme, although meriting approval, is not an administrative program, classmates say. And why does he keeping going back on his word? Whatever the fuss he has stirred, he had no choice but to put the gays and the military issue out front early. They expect the economy to bump along. They do not like the federal deficit; but they would prefer spending cuts to tax kerfiddling, which they see as self-defeating. Downsizing, a Harvard '58 investment manager contends, has become the latest corporate fad: He looks for companies that spend generously and steadily on long-term research and development.

After midnight, under the tent in Eliot Yard, we are talking about the new Philip Glass opera, "Orphée," playing at the Loeb theater nearby. Interesting people.

"Let us, alive, do more together," concluded the Rev. Lyle Guttu, '58, in his chapel homily that morning. He read from a sonnet written by another classmate in October 1986, on the passing of a daughter:

... that gift of who we are and were was our design.
I will not change a moment that was hers and mine.

■ *Richard J. Cattani is the Monitor's editor.*



SLIGHT RISE IN CONSUMER PRICES

Consumer prices edged up a tiny 0.1 percent in May as the biggest drop in energy costs in 14 months helped to offset a sharp jump in food prices, the government said June 15. The small advance in the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index was welcome news after a worrisome 0.4 percent April surge. The Clinton administration is hoping that an easing of inflationary pressures will convince the Federal Reserve that it has no need to boost interest rates. So far this year, consumer prices are rising at an annual rate of 3.5 percent, only slightly faster than last year's 2.9 percent rise. Many analysts believe that inflation will ease even further as the year progresses, reflecting the sub-par economic recovery and the absence of wage pressures.

Haiti 'reinstates' Aristide

The Haitian parliament on June 15 recognized the legitimacy of ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and voted to let him choose Haiti's next prime minister. But the lawmakers fixed no date for the elected leader's return from exile and attached conditions that Aristide long has rejected, including an across-the-board amnesty for the Army that toppled him in September 1991.

Since the coup, Haiti's economy has been ravaged by a trade embargo imposed by the Organization of American States. The United States and others are working to further isolate the regime by imposing similar UN sanctions.

Germany's Somalia role

Germany's opposition Social Democrats challenged the deployment of German troops in Somalia June 15 by taking their complaint to the country's Constitutional Court. They demand the return of 262 troops already in Somalia and the blocking of a planned deployment of 1,700 troops. The deployments are unconstitutional, they argue, because Somalia is a case involving combat and not merely a humanitarian one. The court expects to rule on the matter in several days.

Cambodian prince flees

Cambodia's secessionist prince, Norodom Chakrapong, crossed into Vietnam June 15, a UN military spokesman said. Prince Chakrapong, a senior member of the Vietnamese-based Cambodian People's Party, declared an autonomous zone in eastern provinces bordering Vietnam in protest against alleged fraud in the UN-run election held in May. On June 14, Cambodia's newly elected National Assembly reaffirmed Chakrapong's father, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, as head of state.

Malawi vote results

Initial unofficial returns June 15 from a referendum on the future of one-party rule in the tiny African nation suggested voters want a change to multiparty democracy, opposition leaders claimed.

The United Democratic Front, an opposition movement of former politicians from the ruling Malawi Congress Party, reported that, with a quarter of the ballots tallied, 72 percent favor political pluralism. Official returns are expected to be announced June 16.

Azeri leader returns

Azerbaijan's ex-communist elder statesman Geidar Aliyev made an astonishing comeback to power June 15 when he was elected parliament chairman, local journalists said.

Mr. Aliyev, a former Soviet politburo member and first secretary of the Azerbaijani Communist party, has run the southwestern Azeri province of Nakhichevan since he was dismissed by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987.

After an armed uprising in the western city of Ganja 12 days ago, the increasingly unpopular President Abulfaz Elchibey bowed to the demands of rebels and called for talks.

Mr. Elchibey later offered the popular Aliyev the job of prime minister, which he turned down.

Ex-Soviets nix army

The six former Soviet republics that make up the Commonwealth of Independent States June 15 formally abandoned plans to set up joint armed forces, Interfax news agency said.

Instead, the Commonwealth signatories – including Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan – opted to form a looser coordination body by the end of the year.

– Compiled by Scott Baldauf

ANTI-NORWAY FEELING INCREASES

González victory, even athletic titles, reflect Spain's desire to boost its global influence

Spanish Call: Hello World

IN the days before Spain's 1986 referendum on membership in NATO, polls showed the ballot measure a sure loser. When the votes were counted, however, Spain had said yes to the Atlantic alliance – and the result was attributed to Spanish leader Felipe González's campaign conviction that a long-isolated Spain needed to show it was serious about rejoining the international community.

Mr. González on June 6 pulled another ballot victory from between the bull's horns – this time for a fourth term as president – and the victory was again chalked up largely to the González charisma. The outside world, it was said, played no role in the campaign.

Yet even though the economy and political corruption were dominant issues, signs multiplied as 21 million Spaniards went to the polls that the González victory reflected a nation's collective desire to push ahead in developing its weight and influence in the world.

THE WORLD FROM MADRID

There was a multitude of evidence pointing to Spaniards' international ambitions: the vocabulary of the campaign and the picture presented by major newspapers in the days before and after the vote; the underlying reasons for González's win; and even the two Spanish victories in international sports on the day of the vote.

"Even in a gloomy economy and all the temptations that presents for introspection and protectionism, Spain is keeping its eyes open to the rest of the world," says Emilio Fernández-Castaño, chief of staff at the Foreign Ministry's secretariat for European affairs.

Noting the vacuum of leadership currently plaguing Europe, he adds, "In this empty space is a new actor, playing not a leading role, but making a growing contribution in shaping the new Europe's policies and temperament."

The evidence is anecdotal, but not insignificant. A study of the vocabulary used in televised debates by González and his conservative opponent, José-Maria Aznar, showed "Europe" to be the third most-used word.

The day after the election, the Madrid daily El País resisted the temptation to swim in national events and instead maintained its tradition of dedicating the first inside pages to international events – in this case focusing on the power struggle in Guatemala, of special interest to Spain because of historical and linguistic ties.

Another Madrid daily, ABC, gave lengthy editorial development to Portuguese-speaking Brazil's new policy of encouraging the use of Spanish.

Many average Spaniards, when asked why they supported "Felipe," referred to the respect he had built for Spain around the world.

With Spanish soldiers in Bosnia – three have been killed – and with Spain this month chairing the United Nations Security Council, the Spanish seemed reluctant to place this blooming international role in less-experienced hands.

Giving this interest for Spain's place in the world a historical perspective, Mr. Fernández-Castaño notes that for nearly a century following the 1898 defeat in the Spanish-American war, a pessimism and spiritual defeatism wracked the Spanish psyche, making possible an introverted dictatorship under Franco until his death in 1975.

"But now there is a confidence that Spain is an improving society again, and that is helping to restore a desire for a place in the world," the diplomat says.

Noting Sergi Bruguera's upset win in the French tennis open and Miguel Indurain's taking of the leader's "pink shirt" in the "Giro" Italian bicycle race on the day of Spain's vote, he adds, "These are little events, but they give the average Spaniard the feeling that Spain is a winner, and not a loser, once again."

– Howard LaFranchi